

REDEFINING WOMEN'S WORK: FEMALE ENTREPRENEURS ON THE
SOUTH SIDE OF INDIANAPOLIS, 1880-1920

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Research on the roles of women in the past commonly focuses on either the demure or the radical. This study of female entrepreneurs shows an area in which women occupied a more central position in their communities. Female entrepreneurs were able to possess a certain degree of independence without being viewed, or viewing themselves, as rebellious. This thesis focuses exclusively on the women who owned businesses on a two-block length of one street, South Meridian, in Indianapolis, over a forty-year period. Even with this limited focus, there is substantial variation in the motivations of the women. Some entered in to business with the support of their wealthy families, while others were obligated to work to support their families.

The stories of these women can be revealed through their presence in official documents, city directories, and newspapers of the time. In addition to the individual stories of female entrepreneurs, these sources provide information about who the businesswomen of the time were as a group. The majority were born in the United States and among that group most were born in the state of Indiana. The most common businesses owned by women were millinery shops, dress shops, and boarding houses. Other demographic characteristics, such as age, marital status, and time in business, do not form a pattern across the group. These sources also show how women compared to men who were in business in the same location over the same period.

Most of the female entrepreneurs of the South Side of Indianapolis around the turn of the century worked in fields that could fit under the heading of “women’s work,”

but this categorization ignores the intricacies of their positions as business people. These women were not solely providing a service or producing a good, similar to what they would be expected to do in the home as wives, mothers, or daughters. They were also responsible for the other aspects of business ownership, including finding and maintaining premises, purchasing products and materials, and managing finances. It is these details that, for example, set apart the owner of a dress shop from a woman making clothes for her family.

Paul R. Mullins, Ph.D., Chair

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

IARA	Indiana Archives and Records Administration
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration
U.S. Census Bureau	United States Bureau of the Census

Chapter 1 Introduction

Prior to the death of her husband Dudley in 1885, Sarah Cahill, who went by Sadie, was nearly absent from the documentary record (R. L. Polk 1897; Caudill 2010). She was 32-years-old when he died and suddenly became solely responsible for supporting herself and her daughter (United States Bureau of the Census [U. S. Census Bureau] 1900c: 167A). Along with this responsibility, her status as a widow opened the door to a new independent and much more public life. Her husband, who had worked as a gardener and laborer, left her with some means of support upon his death. She was able to sell a property that she inherited from him for \$3,000 (*Indianapolis Journal* 1887: 3). At the time of that sale she moved from her home on South Illinois Street in Indianapolis to a nearby location on South Meridian Street (R. L. Polk 1884, 1887). In 1887, she opened a millinery business at the same location as her new home, along with Maggie Cahill as a business partner. By the time of the 1888 directory Maggie was no longer involved and Sadie kept the business going on her own (R. L. Polk 1888). Along with her entry in to business, Cahill, as a widow, also became responsible for managing legal issues that would have previously been handled by her husband. These included the property transfer noted above along with lawsuits leveled against her: one by a doctor to settle an account that was not resolved for over a year and another, as a part of a large number of similar suits, for collection of money for sidewalk improvements related to her property (*Indianapolis Journal* 1890a: 7, 1890b: 3, 1891: 6, 1895: 3, 1896a: 2). Sadie stayed in business at her South Meridian location and at her next home on Virginia Avenue until her daughter, Frances, began working as a stenographer and took on the financial

obligations for her mother (R. L. Polk 1887, 1888, 1899; U. S. Census Bureau 1900c: 167A).

The mother and daughter lived together without the presence of any men until Frances married in 1912, after which time both relocated to the home of her new husband in Tippecanoe (U. S. Census Bureau 1920e: 7A; FamilySearch 2013). Sadie Cahill is one example of many women who made their own way in the late-19th and early-20th centuries. She did not set out to reject what was expected of her, and she reverted back to the private sphere after her daughter was able to support her. Financial necessity prompted Cahill to open her shop and she may not have entered in to business at all if her husband had lived longer. This motivation for entering business does not apply to all of the women who chose to do so during this time and in this place. They were a diverse group of women. What they all have in common is that they entered business around the same time on the Southside of Indianapolis. The women in this neighborhood were not unique and the stories of their businesses can work to illustrate the trends of female-owned businesses at the time across the United States. Along with the stories of women like Sarah Cahill, which provide insight into female-owned establishments, they also illustrate the significant economic contributions made by women at that time.

The role of women has changed over time, but this has not been a simple progression from subservience to independence. Women like Sarah Cahill, who operated their own businesses, demonstrate the ability of some women to defy what may have been expected of them. At the same time, the lives of businesswomen can work to disprove some of the modern ideas about the constrained role of women in the past. While there has been some undeniable change in the social position of women over the

last century, the analysis of business ownership shows how the situation for female entrepreneurs may have remained largely the same. As of 2015, only 29% of American businesses were owned by women, a modest increase from 26% in 1997 (White 2015). Those numbers are not far off from the proportion of businesses that were owned by women in Indianapolis around the turn of the 20th century. Part of that similarity can be attributed to the change from small businesses to large corporations that are now the primary players in retail and manufacturing, but it also shows the independence of women and their roles as entrepreneurs. This study illuminates the contributions of women in American business through the use of a small sample of female entrepreneurs in Indianapolis between 1880 and 1920.

James Deetz (1996: 35) has said that “culture is socially transmitted rules of behavior, ways of thinking about doing things.” This thesis will bring to light the rules that did and did not exist concerning the roles of women as entrepreneurs. Without the ability to study the group firsthand, the documentary evidence stands in to illustrate the cultural participation of a segment of society that was not often acknowledged in their own time or in the years since. Women in business in Indianapolis and elsewhere made up part of the setting behind the better-known world events and technological progress around the turn of the 20th century. The documents that were used in this research, such as city directories, census records, and death certificates, are evidence of social relationships that existed in the past (Driscoll 1988: 165, 167). The presence or absence of an individual in the record reveals something about the time in which they were living and their position in the society. This is particularly evident in cases where a business run primarily by a woman is listed under the name of a male relative and, in contrast, when a

woman is listed as the head of a household even with adult male relatives living in the home.

The near-Southside of Indianapolis was similar to other urban American neighborhoods at the turn of the 20th century. This neighborhood was near the center of the city and contained a dense business district. The population was almost exclusively made up of people with European backgrounds, both American born and immigrants. There were several large waves of immigration to the area, first from Germany and later from Eastern Europe. In 1880, Indianapolis was still a fairly young city, which contrasts with some of the longer established cities on the East Coast. Despite this, it still experienced the same impacts of industrialization that were seen in other cities (Robinson 1993: 53). The employment rates of women in Indianapolis were close to the national averages in the mid-19th century (Robinson 1993: 53) and topped the national average by 1920 (Robinson 1996: 204). The women who owned small businesses in this neighborhood can stand in for the women who owned businesses in other neighborhoods with a similar demographic, particularly in the American Midwest. South Meridian Street had over 350 businesses between 1880 and 1920, and over 60 of them had documented female ownership. Focusing on one neighborhood in one city makes it easier to understand the people in more detail by following their progress through time.

These businesswomen were able to thrive in their community in roles that may not have been traditional but were still acceptable. There is not much that separates women in business from men in business. Men and women generally had the same backgrounds, family situations, and longevity in business. Likewise, women in business were not in any measurable way different from the women who occupied themselves

primarily with home-based pursuits. Nearly anyone could have found a way to at least begin a business at the time. Some of the women may have had little other choice, while others went in with more determination. The common ground between them is that too few of the stories of their lives and businesses, successes and failures, have been told. This is true not only for this one neighborhood, but for women in similar situations across the region.

This thesis is focused on uncovering the lives of businesswomen and the commonalities and differences within the group. The setting and context in which they were operating is important for understanding the stories. For this reason, all of the business owners, male and female, were examined in some detail. These specifics make it possible to see when women were applying their “traditional” roles of nurturing and homemaking to business and when they were in competition with men who were providing the same goods and services. In this way, the information displays what female entrepreneurs looked like as a group and how they varied within that group, as well as how they measured up to their male peers. The collection of data used to make these comparisons is large and there are innumerable ways in which to divide and analyze the sample. Most of the ways that I chose showed that these women were not rebels and were not regarded as such. They were women who took a different path from some others, but they rarely overtly rejected their other social roles as wives, mothers, daughters, sisters, and neighbors, even in cases of those who were never married.

The remainder of this chapter will cover the background of the neighborhood and summarize related information from previous studies. Chapter two includes a description of the methods used and gives an overview of the statistics of all of the business owners

in the neighborhood. This will include comparisons between male and female business owners on some factors, including place of birth and business category, and descriptions of businesses on the block as they existed at the beginning, middle, and end of the study period. Chapter three will focus more exclusively on the women in the sample, with additional information, such as age and marital status, and details on the lives and businesses of some of the women. The final chapter presents conclusions with comparisons to the results of other studies.

Setting

All of the business owners included in this study operated on South Meridian Street in Indianapolis between 1880 and 1920. It is limited to only those businesses with street addresses that place them between McCarty and Ray Streets (Figure 1). This is a span of around 1/6 of a mile and businesses that are just south of Ray or just north of McCarty were excluded, as well as those just around either corner. The majority of the business owners lived on the same street, usually in the same buildings as their businesses. Many of the others lived on nearby streets within the neighborhood. As of 1887, the block was divided into 41 lots, many of which were home to more than one place of business. The typical structure on the street had a store front with living space above and behind the retail space. The density of retail space in the area could be related to its proximity to the wholesale district that was forming around the railroad in the latter half of the 19th century just a few blocks to the north (Giacomelli 2012: 13). Goods were easily attainable for resale and some of the businesses in the neighborhood also doubled as wholesalers.

The near Southside had a larger proportion of immigrants than the city as a whole. In 1910, fewer than 10% of the population of Indianapolis was born outside of the United States (Kershner 1949: 329), but in the same year over a third of the business owners on South Meridian were immigrants. The German population was large throughout the time of this study, with citywide German immigration seeing a peak in 1882 (Rippel 2014: 6), but they are not the only group that settled in the neighborhood. In the mid-20th century the children of Irish immigrants thought of the Southside as their home (Kershner 1949: 329) and the corner of McCarty and Meridian has also been described as a “crossroads” for Jewish people from Eastern Europe (Glazier 1985: 27). This could be described as an “ethnic” neighborhood, but different ethnicities were present at the same time without any of them remaining in the majority for too long. The area was a mix of new immigrants, the children of immigrants, and those with deeper roots in the United States. There was also a mix of short-term residents, who moved in and out within the course of a year or two, and other families who made it their home through multiple generations and several decades.

Background and Current Research

The history of women as entrepreneurs is a topic that was neglected for many years. In recent decades, research on the topic has been published in an effort to balance the record. The studies were primarily done by scholars in Women’s Studies, Business, and History. All of these researchers, like myself, see the need for the legacy of the economic contribution of women to be uncovered. This includes information about women both as proprietors and laborers, though their role as laborers is a more frequent focus (Peiss 1998). In Indianapolis, specifically, females of all ages made up 16.6% of

the total documented workforce in 1870 and 24.7% in 1920 (Robinson 1995: 10). If the women who are participating in the economy in less official ways are added to these numbers, it becomes an even more substantial portion of the population. On top of this, in the Midwest around 1870, there were more females running their own businesses than working in factories (Murphy 1987: 157). As the character of the American labor force changed over the following decades, that proportion changed. A national study in 1900 shows that only one percent of employed women were in managerial positions, including proprietors (Bose 2001: 90). This decrease in proportion reflects more women entering the visible labor market as employees, rather than there being fewer women who were running businesses.

While women were never entirely excluded from the labor market, particularly among immigrants, minorities, and those engaged in “maternal” fields, such as medicine and education, it did remain less common for married women of any status to be represented (Murphy 1987; Bose 2001: 60). In a study of milliners and dressmakers in Boston between 1860 and 1890, single women were most common, followed by widows, and then married women (Gamber 1992: 66). Even when the family was in financial need, all other options were usually exhausted before married women were sent to work outside of the home. According to Robinson (1995: 1), there were three possible strategies that the families in Indianapolis between 1860 and 1920 could use to obtain extra money: the wife could take a job, the wife could take in boarders, or the children could work. Some studies even state that mothers were less likely than children to work outside of the home, even if there were no small children who needed someone to look after them (Fraundorf 1979; Robinson 1995). Child labor laws that were more liberal in

Indianapolis than in other parts of the country made it easier for children to contribute to family economics. Laws making school attendance mandatory were not in effect until the late 1890s (Robinson 199: 53). According to Bose (2001: 60), marital status was actually a stronger predictor of employment status than was race in 1900. Adding to this social barrier to women working at all, let alone independently running a business, married women were unable to legally own property in Indiana prior to 1879 (Murphy 1987: 158). Despite these social and legal hurdles, women, including married women, did enter the work force and did go into business for themselves.

Self-employed women in the 19th and early 20th century worked in a variety of businesses. Most studies show that women overwhelmingly worked in industries that catered to other women, such as millinery and dressmaking (Murphy 1987; Murphy 1991; Gamber 1998). This is likely to be true in any sample from the time period, but, as noted by Murphy (1987: 174), if three quarters of women are working within these female-dominated industries, it has to be acknowledged that a quarter of female entrepreneurs are operating traditionally male businesses. While it is uncommon for a woman to run a barber shop, it is not uncommon for women to own other businesses that were typically considered masculine, such as saloons and tobacconists. In addition, women commonly owned gender-neutral businesses, such as grocery and dry goods stores. There are even cases of women, some of uncertain educational background, functioning as medical doctors (Murphy 1991). Despite the variety of industries, there was one thing that most of these ventures had in common: they were small, typically with only a single location and minimal staff; this is a fact that can be used as an excuse for their disappearance from history (Gamber 1998: 190-193). Gamber (1992: 60) believes

that compensating for this by simply pointing to their presence is insufficient, and research should instead focus on identifying “in what ways their experiences were distinctive.”

The decision to start one’s own business was made for a variety of reasons. Some of them mirrored the reasons to enter the labor force in general. Earning their own money gave women the means to independently express their identities through the items those chose to purchase (Enstad 1999: 50). More practically, though, many women needed to work in order to survive (Fregulia 2015). For those who may not have had dire financial need, and even for those who did, owning a small business could give them a shot at upward mobility, socially and financially (Archer 1991; Murphy 1991; Bogan and Darity 2008). Some women consciously made the decision to set up shop for themselves while others fell into business through an inheritance, typically from a husband or father. Differences in the origins of a business can speak to differences in the circumstances of the owners themselves.

As presented in previous studies, female entrepreneurs have been difficult to pinpoint demographically. Despite the uncertainty, there are some patterns that have been noted. The majority of women in business around this time period have European ancestry (Peiss 1998: 221; Murphy 1991: 69). This could be a product of privilege or because women of other backgrounds were less likely to run businesses that would be recognized by the people keeping the records and printing the directories. There is some consistency in age, as well: Murphy’s (1991: 71) sample of business women in the Midwest from 1850 to 1880 had an average age of 36 years and Fraundorf (1979: 416) found that married women were most likely to work when between the ages of 35 and 44,

though her study did not focus exclusively on business ownership. Socioeconomic status is much more difficult to generalize about. Some believe that having the means to start a business indicates middle- or upper-class status (Archer 1991; Fregulia 2015). In opposition, Gamber (1998: 194) points out that running a business is still work, and it is usually those among the lower classes who have a need to work. While I have not found information about immigrant women as business owners there is information available about immigrants, both men and women, as small business owners and about immigrant women in the work place. Small business owners have disproportionately been immigrants since the 19th century (Light 1984: 198) and immigrant women were more likely to work than American-born women (Fraundorf 1979: 403). Putting those two facts together could lead one to infer that immigrant women were well represented. Overall, there is not a clear image of the type of woman who went into business for herself, but this may be different when looking at a smaller sample

Before the advent of more female-focused research, there was a tendency to focus on women at one of two extremes: either as timid and “traditional” or as radical (Rosen 1971: 544). Research into the business world gives us examples of women who fit better in the middle of the spectrum. There is nothing innately radical about operating a business, and if it was viewed in that way, the operations would be unlikely to stay open for too long. At the same time, businesswomen are stepping out from their expected roles. Stana Nenadic (1998: 626) wrote that women in business in the 19th century are often ignored because historians of women choose to hold on to the idea of “separate spheres” while Scott (1998: 245) believes that the focus on business women in female-dominated professions actually emphasizes gender identity and the differences between

men and women. Documenting the lives of women in business does not destroy the notion that there were rigidly maintained gender roles, nor does it imply widespread social equality. It does show that some women lived in the space between what was standard and what was unacceptable. It is intriguing to imagine women who were able to create an unorthodox independence, while also maintaining the respect and patronage of their community.

Figure 1 Map of Study Area, from Sanborn 1915, Vol. 2, Map #127



Chapter 2 Methods and Overview

Methods

My research began with a survey of the businesses that were present on South Meridian Street between McCarty and Ray Streets in 1880, 1890, 1899, and 1920. During this initial information gathering, the Indianapolis City Directories for each of these years was consulted in their digital formats. The year 1899 was selected because the 1900-1903 directories are not available in an easily accessible and searchable format. I used the digital copies of these directories that are available on archive.org in the Indianapolis Public Library collection. After some trial and error with searching methods, I concluded that the most efficient way to proceed was to download the PDF versions of the directories and use the search function through my browser, rather than the search method that is available on archive.org. At this initial stage I began by searching “S Meridian” and recording every entry. At this time, I was unsure of how the information would ultimately be used. I, therefore, recorded every entry within the relevant address range including residential listings. Purely residential listings were kept in a separate file from business listings and have not been consulted.

The business listings were kept in an early version of my master spreadsheet, which included for each individual: first name, last name, business type, business address, and home address. The home address was included because I was initially interested in the residency patterns of the business owners. After compiling this information for each of the years that I was investigating, I consulted U.S. Census records for the corresponding years (1880, 1900, and 1920) to match up business owner names with these records. The 1890 census was not available, but the records from the other

decades were consulted to attempt to find matches with the 1890 directory. The main information that was taken from these records was birthplace for the individual, as well as language and parents' birthplaces when possible. For many of the entries this was straightforward, with their census records easily found on Ancestry.com. For others it was a bit more tedious. For several cases I tracked the children of the individuals for their own census records that included the mother and father's places of birth. The 1910 and 1920 censuses had columns for parents' birthplaces and native languages. An additional column was added to my spreadsheet for the url leading to the document that proved place of birth for future reference.

From the initial data, I wrote a brief paper on the business owners in the area, focusing on the last names that appeared in more than one of the four directories. This included the Doenges family, who owned a tea shop and grocery store that was passed from father to son. They will be briefly profiled later in this chapter. The Hofmann family had a similar story, with a saloon that was passed down through the generations. The profiles on these families included details on how they were sometimes complicatedly connected to the neighborhood through both business and personal relationships in multiple ways. These details became less important as my focus changed, but still became evident when doing detailed research on any individuals. I also looked into the Beaupre family because that name appeared in both the 1900 and 1910 censuses, but their story was much different from that of the Hofmanns or Doenges. The two Beaupres were not immediate relatives and there were no members of the family present on the block for the entire decade. I also examined the Glick and Loganofsky families. The last business owner that was of interest at that time was John Sing, the only business owner on the

street with roots outside of European and Mediterranean countries. He was a Chinese immigrant who owned a laundry on the block for several decades.

After the completion of the initial research on the decades, I proceeded to collect information for the individual years of the decades, following the businesses that I was already aware of and collecting information for the new ones. At this time, new columns were added to the master spreadsheet for each of the years for which a directory is available. The address number was recorded under these years for later consultation to determine if address changes or actual moves within the block accounted for the changes. Because there were changes in the address number on the street, before searching for businesses, I first consulted the street index. Each directory has a listing of the streets that are included, along with the numbers between each cross street. By finding the numbers for McCarty and Ray on South Meridian, I could confirm the address range that I should be looking for in that year. In general, the earlier years had a range from 400-500 and the later years had a range from 800-1000. A few of the businesses began at a time when South Meridian ended before this block and the relevant addresses were in the 100-200 range on Bluff Road (Logan & Co. 1868).

As businesses were followed through the years, notes were made about changes in business type, address, and owner. The directory is not an infallible source, and, at times, inferences needed to be made based on the available information. The easy corrections to make were those of misspellings and transposed address numbers. A common problem, though, was the absence of information. For example, the barber shop owned by George and Charles Traut is listed in the directories from 1885-1890, 1892, 1894, and 1898-1917. It is not included in the 1891, 1895, and 1897 directories. In cases like this one, I

recorded them as existing continuously, with the problem being with the directory rather than a temporary closure of the business itself. Another possible explanation for some of the exclusions is problems with the searching system within the directories and instances where the scan cut off part of the information. I tried to search conspicuously missing businesses when possible, but this was not always a good use of my time. For the businesses that were present in either 1880 or 1920, I followed their records in the directories to confirm a first or final date in business. This ended up covering a significant time range, with directories from 1867 to 1983 being consulted. This was necessary in order to have accurate information about which businesses were present in the area for the longest time.

Following the detailed look through the directories, I proceeded to collect birthplace and language records for all the new entries. As with the initial research, sources available through ancestry.com were consulted. Based on place of birth and parents' place of birth, I classified each business owner's immigration status. The options were unknown, native, second generation, and immigrant. Native indicates a person who was born in the United States to two parents who were born in the United States. Second generation is a person born in the United States with at least one parent born in a different country. Cases were unknown when either their own birthplace or that of their parents could not be discovered. Columns including the first year in business, last year in business, and total years were added for reference without scrolling through the information for the street number from each year. The final information included was an assumed gender. These were inferred based upon first names, the title of Miss or Mrs included in listings, and, when necessary, census records were consulted for gender-

neutral names. Figures 2 and 3 show an example of what an entry in the spreadsheet looked like, with irrelevant year columns hidden. In the actual spreadsheet this information is contained in a continuous row. The asterisks indicate notes about that year, which are included in further columns. Those columns, as well as the url, are excluded from these figures.

When all of the information was collected, I used the spreadsheet to sort the information to look for patterns upon which to focus. Ultimately, I noted that the number of females in the group was larger than I had anticipated and decided to look at those women in more depth. While reading the work of others on female entrepreneurs, turn of the century small business, and female employment, I took note of the methods used by those authors. In many cases, their work was conducted using sources similar to those which I had already consulted, such as directories and census records (Murphy 1987; Archer 1991; Robinson 1995; Fregulia 2015). A method for sorting business type into categories was used by Lucy Eldersveld Murphy (1987) in her study of business women in the Midwest. I chose to borrow that system in which she classified each business into four groups: “artisans, merchants, professionals, and those providing accommodations” (Murphy 1987: 159). This approach is appropriate in this research for making comparisons between male and female entrepreneurs. Some of the businesses were dominated by one gender, but these categories get to the basics of what they were actually doing. For example, dressmakers tend to be female and tailors tend to be male, but they are both artisans. A column was added to the spreadsheet for these category determinations.

After deciding to focus on the women in the sample it was necessary to find additional information about each of them. I first copied the information about them to a new spreadsheet and added additional columns. The information I chose to look for was marital status, age, and home address for the first year in business. During the pursuit for this information I created a word document for each of the women to lay out all of the data that might be useful later in the process. The most basic of these documents has a summary of their business, details on directory records, and important dates, all with links back to their sources. Figure 4 is an example of this. For some there was much more information available, and I included all that I could find in their files. Figure 5 shows a more detailed file. The longest of these covers six full pages. While in this process I made note of individuals with interesting stories or in-depth histories available. In addition to the sources previously noted, newspapers available through Hoosier State Chronicles (<https://newspapers.library.in.gov/>) were searched to find details about the lives of the women. This was also used in a few cases to find additional information about the male business owners and general information about working women of the time.

In summary, this research was conducted using a variety of digital sources. As I collected information, I transferred it into a number of spreadsheets and text files with references to the sources for easy sorting, retrieval, and verification as needed. The layout and organization evolved during the time of initial information gathering, which was primarily conducted between February and November of 2017. For my own uses, the information is stored in spreadsheets that would prove cumbersome for others to consult, with the largest consisting of 117 columns and 386 rows. This information has been divided and compiled into easier to manage batches in the appendices. The original

spreadsheets and text files will be maintained should they need to be consulted in the future.

Sample

The ultimate focus of this research is the women who operated businesses on South Meridian Street, but as displayed above, information was gathered on all of the businesses, their owners, and changes that took place over the 40-year period from 1880 to 1920. The total number of businesses was over 350. There was an average of 43 businesses present in any given year, with a range of 30 to 57. Over 370 individuals were either owners or co-owners of those businesses. Of these, 57 were women, who owned 56 businesses. The remaining sections in this chapter give an overview of the sample as a whole, looking specifically at the years 1880, 1899, and 1920 to show changes over time, and make comparisons between the males and females within the sample in terms of business categories and places of birth.

Business Categories

As noted in the methods section, I broke down the businesses in to the categories of Accommodations, Artisan, Merchant, and Professional. This determination was not always completely straightforward, as there was some overlap and ambiguity. For example, when a business was listed as “shoes” it was unclear in some directory years whether it is a shoemaker and repairer or a shoe retailer. Shoemakers and repairers are artisans, while those who only sell shoes manufactured elsewhere are retailers. In addition, some businesses served multiple purposes at once and therefore belong in more than one category. An exhaustive list of the specific business types in this sample that fit in to each category can be found in Table 1. As I will show when I discuss particular

business types, there are certain ones that do not often cross the gender line. Dividing the data in this way makes for an easier comparison between the businesses of the males and females in the sample without professions that are traditionally dominated by one or the other clouding the comparison.

The frequency of female business categories is in Table 2, with the male number displayed in Table 3. In this case, the numbers represent each distinct business, rather than the owners. Those with more than one owner of the same gender are only counted as a single instance, but businesses that were owned by both a male and a female are counted once in each of the tables. In most of the other comparisons, the calculations were based on 57 females and 309 males, but in this case, they are based on 56 female-owned businesses and 295 male owned businesses. The first two columns of each table account for each business type or combination of business types represented by an individual business. The second two columns include businesses that belong to two categories in addition to those that belong to only one category. Therefore, the sum of the percentages in the fourth column comes to over 100, but each percentage is representative of the percent of the total businesses that at least partially fit into the category. Businesses that fit into multiple categories were almost as common among women and they were among men, at 5.4% and 6.4% respectively.

The category of artisan is the most represented among both male and female business owners. With the wide variety of professions that fit into this category and the time period, this could be predicted. There is a difference, though, in the strength of the representation. For men, the artisan and merchant categories are very close to each other, at 37.6% and 39.9%. For women, however, there is a much larger gap between the two

(51.8% and 19.6%). Women were more likely to be making the things that they sell, rather than reselling goods. The items that they were making were primarily hats and dresses, while the men were making a wider variety of things, from cigars to shoes to baked goods. Interestingly, women are proportionately more likely to run businesses in which they are considered to be professionals, sharing their expertise with their clients. The specific professions vary considerably, with the only crossover between the males and females being physicians. Elsie Kelleher was the only female physician on the block between 1880 and 1920 (R. L. Polk 1904). Accommodations have very similar numbers, 14.3% for women and 13.2% for men, with the primary business being saloons for men and boarding houses for women. Overall, the ranking of the business categories from most to least common are consistent between men and women.

The businesses that can be classified as belonging to more than one category show some variety. Some of these are two businesses operating in conjunction with each other, such as George Borst, a druggist who also sold books and paints (R. L. Polk 1888). Others changed part way through their time in business, like Margaretha Hoenig who began in dry goods, but later switched to millinery (R. L. Polk 1894, 1907). For men the most common combination was artisan/merchant, and this was the only combination present among the women. Sometimes these were businesses that seemed to go hand in hand with one another, such as Frances McDowell, who both worked as a decorator and sold wallpaper (R. L. Polk 1917). Other times they were businesses with less in common, such as Joseph Brussman's combination barbershop and billiard hall (R. L. Polk 1919).

Birthplace and Language

The place of birth for most of the business owners in the sample was able to be determined, as described above. The birthplaces were usually accompanied by a native language. These are areas in which there were significant differences between the males and the females. A large majority of the women that owned businesses in the neighborhood were born in the United States, while among men the numbers of U.S. and foreign-born individuals were nearly even. Following this pattern, most of the women spoke English as their first language, while many of the men did not. To look at these numbers comparatively, all businesses for whom the gender of the owner could not be determined were excluded. These were mainly businesses with a company name associated with them, such as the Midway Theater (R. L. Polk 1910), or partnerships without first names included in the directory, such as Spector & Fishman installment goods (R. L. Polk 1909). With these instances eliminated, there was a sample of 366 individuals representing 344 unique businesses. Of the 366, 57 are women and 309 are men.

Table 4 shows the country of birth for this group. It can only be confirmed that 49.5% of the male business owners were born in the United States, with the highest possible being 55.3%. For women these numbers are significantly higher, at 82.5-84.2%. The greater number of individuals from other countries among the men also led to greater diversity in their countries of birth. There were men born in at least 17 other countries, while the number for women is only four or five. The male diversity is approximately in line with the demographics of the neighborhood, but business ownership among women is skewed towards those who were born in the United States. All of the foreign-born

women were from European countries, but there were men from China, Syria, and Turkey. Table 5 lists the first languages of the business owners, which yielded similar results to the countries of origin. Some of the business people had their first languages listed as Jewish, Hebrew, or Yiddish in the census. This is the strongest indication of religious diversity in the neighborhood during this time period.

1880

In 1880 there were 30 businesses in the study area. Of these, two were owned by females. Elizabeth Hagedon was a milliner at 410 South Meridian and Rachael Greenberg sold hair goods at 471 South Meridian. Neither of them had competition at their particular trades on the street at this time. Elizabeth Hagedon was born in Indiana to a British father and an American mother and Rachel Greenberg was a German or Russian immigrant (U. S. Census Bureau 1880a: 752C, 757B, 1900a: 9). Among the other businesses, the most common were grocers and saloons, with three of the establishments serving both purposes. A breakdown of the business types present can be found in Table 6. There were 24 different business types represented, with 11 of the establishments fitting into more than one category. Ten of the businesses were artisans, 15 were merchants, and there was one professional, a physician. There were three businesses that were exclusively accommodations and an additional four that were providing accommodations along with fitting into one of the other categories. During this year, the businesses that were listed as being owned by women catered exclusively to women, which is not the case throughout the study period.

Of the businesses that were present in 1880, the amount of time in business ranged from one year to 64 years, with an average of span of under 16 years. Both of the

female-owned establishments fell well below the average, at six and seven years apiece. The longest lasting establishment was a grocer, meat market, and tea shop owned by the Doenges family. Of the 12 businesses that lasted longer than the average time, the most evident pattern is that ten of them were owned by German-born immigrants. That 83% of the longest lasting businesses were German owned is less significant when it is considered that 19 to 21 of the total 30 (63-70%) were German owned. Including the two that are possibly German, the average length of time in business for German-owned businesses was 16 years and for non-Germans it was 15 years. The non-German owned businesses have a skewed average based on two outlying businesses lasting 39 and 52 years each. Based on these numbers, it does not appear that German ethnicity has a great influence on business longevity, though it, perhaps, increased the likelihood of owning a business in the neighborhood at this time.

Casper and William Doenges

As noted above, the longest lasting business that was present in 1880 was the grocery and tea shop owned by the Doenges'. It was originally opened by Casper Doenges, who was born on August 13, 1848 in Fronhausen, Germany (National Archives and Records Administration [NARA] 1895). He immigrated to the United States in 1866 and was living in Indianapolis by 1870 (Hutchinson's 1870). That year he married 18-year old Catherine Kraft, who had arrived from the same part of Germany a few years before him (U. S. Census Bureau 1920d: 10A; Indiana Archives and Records Administration [IARA] 1934; Marion County 2005). The couple had two children who survived into adulthood, William and Louise. Two other children died before 1900 (U. S. Census Bureau 1900d: 2).

In the early 1870s Casper worked for a tea seller, gaining experience before he went into a similar business for himself (Bailey Publishers 1871; Swartz & Tedrowe's 1874). Casper's business on South Meridian first opened in 1877 (S.E. Tilford & Co. 1877). For a short time at the beginning he had a partner and two locations, the second on East Washington, but by 1879 he had his own shop at a different location, still on South Meridian (R. L. Polk 1878, 1879). He would move one more time, again staying on the street (R. L. Polk 1882). The store changed specialties throughout its time in business, alternating between being called a tea store, a grocery store, a meat market, or some combination of these. The 1898 directory states that Mr. Doenges is a "Dealer in teas, coffees, sugar, spices, and fancy groceries" (R. L. Polk 1898). After 1900 the company became known as C. Doenges & Son (R. L. Polk 1904). In addition to the store, the family also owned an apartment block on the street (R. L. Polk 1915a). The Doenges themselves lived both on and off site over the years, but stayed fairly close, living on Madison Avenue and Union Street at different times (R. L. Polk 1885, 1905).

Casper died in October of 1906 and his son, William, took over the business (IARA 1906; R. L. Polk 1907). William had married Edith Kuerst, whose father was also from Germany, in 1902 (U. S. Census Bureau 1910e: 14B; FamilySearch 2013). The couple eventually moved in with William's mother and sister at the house on Union (R. L. Polk 1915a). In the 1920s, while the store remained open, the entire family moved out of the neighborhood to a home about three miles away on North New Jersey Street (R. L. Polk 1922). The business did not close until after William's death in 1942, after at least 64 years (IARA 1942; R. L. Polk 1942, 1943). It was not only the longest lasting of the

businesses present in 1880, it was near the top for all of the businesses. Both the building that housed the business and the North New Jersey house are no longer standing.

1899

Nearly 20 years later, the landscape of the street did not change too much, but there were 40 businesses, ten more than there were in 1880. Of those, ten were owned by women with an eleventh that would later be inherited by a woman, as compared to two female-owned businesses present in 1880. Only five of the businesses from 1880 were still open in 1899. All five of those were exceptionally long-lasting businesses, as compared to the rest of the sample, and are listed in Table 7. The three of these five that were in business the longest were passed down through families, accounting for some of their longevity. Grocers and saloons remained the most common businesses, with four of each present. Only two of the women were working in businesses that catered nearly exclusively to women: one dressmaker and one milliner. A further three of the women were in female-dominated professions: a music teacher and two nurses. The remainder worked in gender-neutral industries, with the exception of Retta Rice, who owned a shoe store.

The time in business again ranged from one to 64 years, as the Doenges shop remained open, with an average of just under 14 years, which is two years lower than it was in 1800. Women, again, generally fell below this average, but three of them lasted longer at 14, 18, and 23 years. A noticeable difference between the two years is the proportion of German immigrants. In 1880 they owned most of the longest lasting businesses and most of the businesses over all. In 1899 the numbers had dropped significantly. Only eight of the businesses were owned by German immigrants, 20%,

compared to the previous 63-70%. This change was balanced out, though, by the increase in the number of business owners with German-born parents. Table 8 displays the business owners divided into categories of Native, both parents born in the United States, Second Generation, one or both parents born outside of the United States, and Immigrant. The Immigrant and Second-Generation categories are further broken down to show the number with roots in Germany. This seems to show the results of an earlier influx of German immigrants that has slowed down, with the children of the original immigrants making up a large proportion of the business owners. The last two decades of the 19th century showed a gradual change in the demographics of the business owners that reflected the overall change in the neighborhood. Figure 6 shows this change by percent of the total from 1880-1899, for all years for which the information could be determined. The native category remains fairly steady, while the immigrant proportions decrease, and the second-generation portions increase. 1899 is the first year that second-generation business owners outnumbered immigrants.

1920

In 1920 there were 46 businesses on the block. Of those, five were owned by women and one had previously been owned by a woman. Only two of the women worked in female dominated professions that catered primarily to females. The most common businesses were no longer grocers and saloons. Grocers were the second most common, following furniture stores. There were seven furniture stores at this time, when there had been none in 1880 and only two in 1899. Merchants and artisans were most common, as in previous decades, but there were now more professionals and fewer accommodations. The decrease in establishments considered to be providing accommodations can be

attributed to the closure of saloons in compliance with prohibition and the temperance movement. Even some of the female business owners on the street were members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, including milliners and sisters Mary and Carrie Duth. Carrie was once the president of the Young Women's Christian Temperance Union and Mary was later the corresponding secretary for the Marion County WTCU (*Indianapolis Journal* 1889b: 2, 1889c: 7, 1889e: 3; *Indianapolis News* 1891: 6). The one business that was previously a saloon that was still open in 1920 was, instead, listed under the business category of "soft drinks" (R. L. Polk 1920). It was owned by Paul Junemann and became a restaurant after 1921 (R. L. Polk 1921, 1922).

These 20 years saw more changes in patterns of business owners that, as was the case in 1899, reflect the changes beginning in the neighborhood demographics. Not only had the numbers of immigrant business owners increased over the other categories again, German immigrants were no longer the most common. In 1920 there were 23 business owners on South Meridian who were born outside of the United States. Of those, at least 17 were Jewish, based on the language noted in their census entries and most of those came from Russia. Figure 7 shows the same information from Figure 6 for the years from 1899 to 1920. In the continuation it can be seen that the number of second-generation business owners peaked in 1899, after which time their numbers steadily dropped. The native numbers stayed consistent. It is the immigrant numbers, which saw a decline at the end of the 18th century, that rose over the first two decades of the 20th and remained the majority. In 1880 there were a large number of German immigrants in the area. Later it was the children of these immigrants who owned most of the businesses. Then another group of immigrants arrived, this time Jewish people primarily from Russia. If the

research continued on it would be likely that the numbers would again converge as the children of those immigrants started their own businesses. Figure 8 uses all of the data from 1880 to 1920 with native and second-generation combined into a single category. This shows that immigrants outnumbered American-born business owners from 1880 until the 1890s. After this time, the majority changes several more times, with the disparities growing closer together. The final convergence of the proportion of American-born and foreign-born business owners during the 40-year span can be seen between 1919 and 1920.

Figure 2 Business Owner Spreadsheet, first section

First	Last	Ass	Native Lang.	Birthplace/Parents	Immigrant, Nati	Type	First year	Final year	Total Years	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871
John F.	Bossert	M	German	Germany	I	Bakery	1868	1885	18 X		112	112	112*	412
Christian	Renner	M	German	Germany	I	Blacksmith/Horse Shoer	1869	1894	26 X	X		123*	423	423
Joseph	Stein	M	German	Germany	I	Boots and Shoes	1869	1885	17 X	X		106*	406	406

Figure 3 Business Owner Spreadsheet, second section

1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1894
412	412	412	412	412	412	412	412	412	412	414	412	412	412 X**	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
423	423	423	423	423	423	423	423	423	423	423	423	423 423**	423	423	423	423	423	423	423	423
410	410	410	410	410	444	444	444	444	422	422	422	422	422 X**	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Figure 4 Business Owner Information Document, example 1

Rae Efroymsen

Dressmaker in 1895

Born in 1880. February 1876. Or Feb 18, 1874.

Single as of 1910.

Married Abraham Simon. February 28, 1911.

Daughter born 1914.

Died July 13, 1969.

1894 (316) Efroymsen Jacob, dry goods, 421 S Meridian, h same

1895 (315) Efroymsen Rae, dressmkr, 475 S Meridian, b same. (Isaac clk)

1896 (335) Efroymsen Rae, dressmkr, 475 S Meridian, b same

1897 (335) Efroymsen Isaac, clk, b 475 S Meridian (Jacob, clk)

Figure 5 Business Owner Information Document, example 2, page 1

Retta M. Rice

Boots and Shoes from 1898-1899

Born around 1861. April 25, 1860. In Indiana.

Her Dad ESTABLISHED Transitville. In 1851.

Parents from Ohio, father a farmer, 1870. Dad was a Justice of the Peace in 1880.

Full first name Alfredda.

Maiden name Miller.

Married Calvin Rice in 1884.

Calvin was also born in Tippecanoe County in 1860.

Had 4 children, 2 living as of 1900: George 1892, Hazle 1894.

By 1900, they had moved back to Tippecanoe County.

Widowed by 1920. But after 1910. Calvin died in 1912.

In 1920: living in Chicago

In 1930: living in Los Angeles. With George, who was working as a piano teacher.

In 1940: in Los Angeles with George and Hazel.

Lived in Lafayette in 1915. Polk Lafayette City Directory.

Died December 16, 1941. In los Angeles.

Buried in Forest Lawn Memorial Park in Glendale, CA "Beloved Mother"

Bought a lot in 1896 for \$500.

Bought a lot in 1897 for \$1600.

Figure 6 Business Owner Information Document, example 2, page 2

[Sold a lot in 1899 for \\$1500.](#)

[Sold a lot in 1900 for \\$1700.](#)

[Sold a lot in 1902 for \\$500.](#)

Worked at 828 S Meridian in 1898, 1899

1898 (756) Rice Retta M, shoes, 828 S Meridian, h 729 Delaware (Calvin P)

1899 (778) Rice Retta M, shoes, 828 S Meridian, h 729 S Delaware (Calvin P, ~~clk~~)

Table 1 Business types by Business Category

Accommodations	Amusements Billiards	Boarding Restaurant	Saloon Soft Drinks
Artisan	Artist Baker Barber Baskets Bicycle Repair Blacksmith Brooms Carpenter Carriage Manufacturer Carriage Painter/Trimmer Cigar Maker Cleaners Confectioner	Creamery Decorator Dresses Florist Hair Dresser Harness and Saddle Hats Horse Shoer Jeweler Leather Goods Locks Medicine Manufacturer Milliner Painter	Neckties Photographer Pictures and Frames Plumber Publisher Rattan Works Shoemaker Signs Suspenders Tailor Upholster
Merchant	Bicycle Sales Books Burial Vaults China Cigars Clothing Coal Commission Merchant Dental Supplies Department Store Drugs	Dry Goods Expressman Fish Flour and Feed Furniture Grocer Hair Goods Hardware Installment Goods Meats Men's Furnishings	Moving Picture Supplies News Dealer Notions Paints Produce Second Hand Goods Sewing Machines Shoes Teas Wall Paper
Professional	Dentist Nurse	Physician Teacher-Music	Veterinarian

Table 2 Female Business Categories

Business Type	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Accommodations	8	14.3	8	14.3
Artisan	29	51.8	32	57.1
Merchant	11	19.6	14	25.0
Professional	5	8.9	5	8.9
Artisan/Merchant	3	5.4	n/a	n/a

Table 3 Male Business Categories

Business Type	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Accommodations	39	13.2	44	14.9
Artisan	111	37.6	127	43.1
Merchant	109	36.9	123	41.7
Professional	17	5.8	17	5.8
Artisan/Merchant	14	4.7	n/a	n/a
Artisan/Accom.	2	0.7	n/a	n/a
Merchant/Accom.	3	1.0	n/a	n/a

Table 4 Country of Birth

	Women		Men		Total Percent
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	
United States	47	82.5	153	49.5	54.6
Austria	0	n/a	5	1.6	1.4
Canada	0	n/a	3	1.0	0.8
China	0	n/a	1	0.3	0.3
Denmark	0	n/a	1	0.3	0.3
England	1	1.8	5	1.6	1.6
France	0	n/a	5	1.6	1.4
Germany	3	5.3	60	19.4	17.2
Holland	0	n/a	2	0.6	0.5
Hungary	1	1.8	3	1.0	1.1
Ireland	0	n/a	3	1.0	0.8
Italy	0	n/a	1	0.3	0.3
Poland	0	n/a	7	2.3	1.9
Romania	0	n/a	2	0.6	0.5
Russia	4	7.0	34	11.0	10.4
Scotland	0	n/a	2	0.6	0.5
Syria	0	n/a	2	0.6	0.5
Turkey	0	n/a	2	0.6	0.5
Unknown	1	1.8	18	5.8	5.2

Table 5 Native Language

	Women		Men	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Chinese	0	n/a	1	0.3
Danish	0	n/a	1	0.3
English	48	84.2	166	53.7
French	0	n/a	3	1.0
German	3	5.3	53	17.2
Hebrew/Yiddish/Jewish	1	1.8	35	11.3
Irish	0	n/a	1	0.3
Italian	0	n/a	1	0.3
Magyar/Hungarian	1	1.8	1	0.3
Polish	0	n/a	1	0.3
Russian	1	1.8	7	2.3
Scotch	0	n/a	1	0.3
Spanish	0	n/a	1	0.3
Syrian	0	n/a	2	0.6
Turkish	0	n/a	1	0.3
Unknown	3	5.8	34	11.0

Table 6 1880 Business Types

Category	Type		
Accommodations	Restaurant-1	Saloon-6	
Artisan	Baker-1 Blacksmith-2 Harness/Saddle-1 Frames/Carpenter-1	Barber-1 Cigars-1 Milliner-1	Baskets-1 Confectioner-1 Painter-1
Merchant	Boots/Shoes-2 Dry Goods-1 Hardware/Cutlery-1 Teas-2	Clothing-1 Grocer-7 Meats-3	Druggist-1 Hair Goods-1 Second Hand Goods-1
Professional	Physician-1		

Table 7 Businesses Present in both 1880 and 1899

Name	Business	First Year	Last Year	Total
Doenges	Grocer/Teas/Meats	1879	1942	64
Efroymsen	Dry Goods/Clothing	1873	1924	52
Hoffman	Saloon	1877	1915	39
Meyer	Saloon	1877	1904	28
Schmitt	Cigar Manufacturer	1875	1899	25

Table 8 Change in Nativity of Business Owners from 1880 to 1899

	1880	German	1899	German
Native	3		8	
Second Gen	3	1	17	11
Immigrant	23	19-21	14	8
Unknown	1		1	

Figure 7 Percentage of Total Businesses by Year, 1880-1899

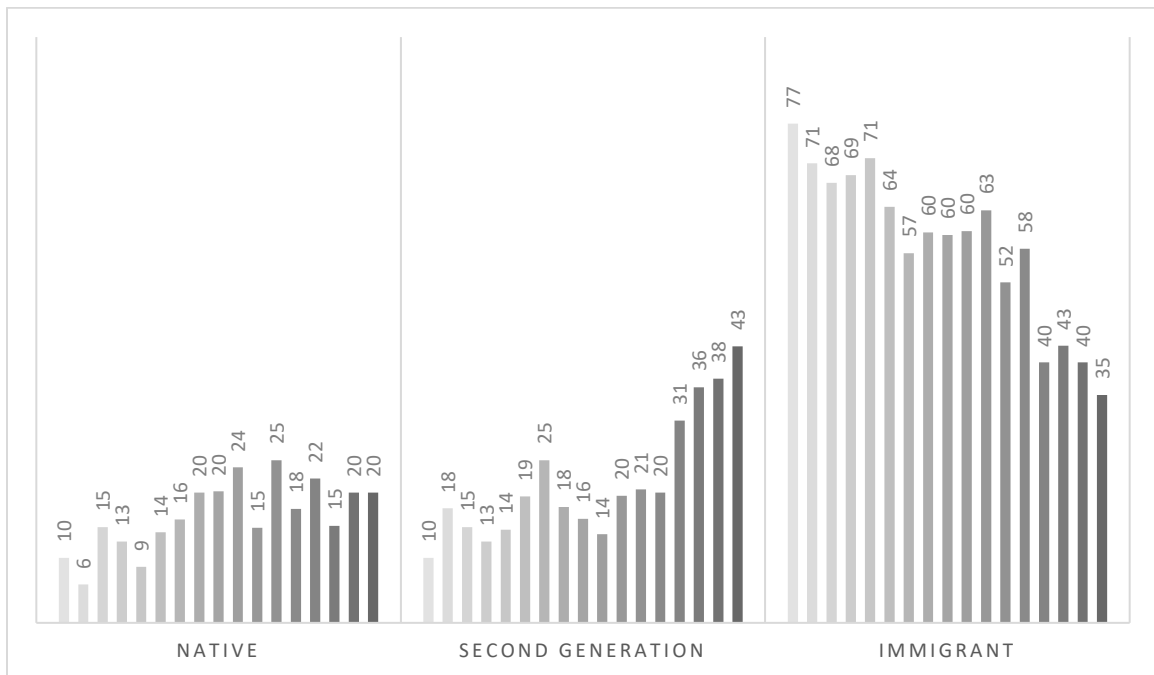


Figure 8 Percentage of Total Businesses by Year, 1899-1920

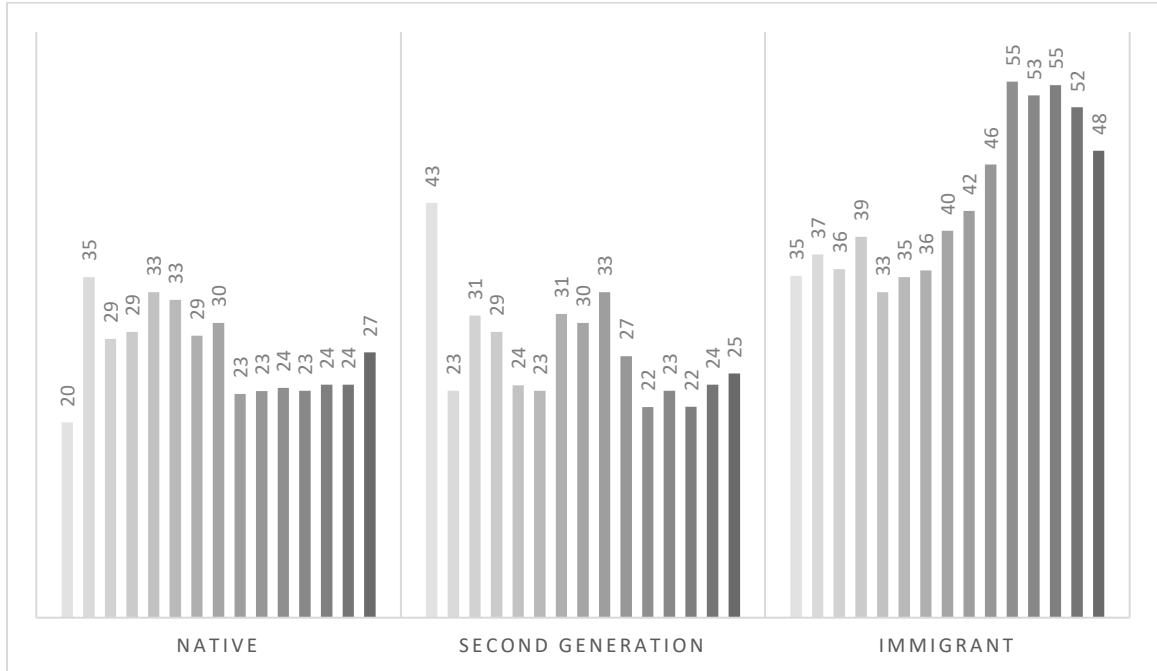
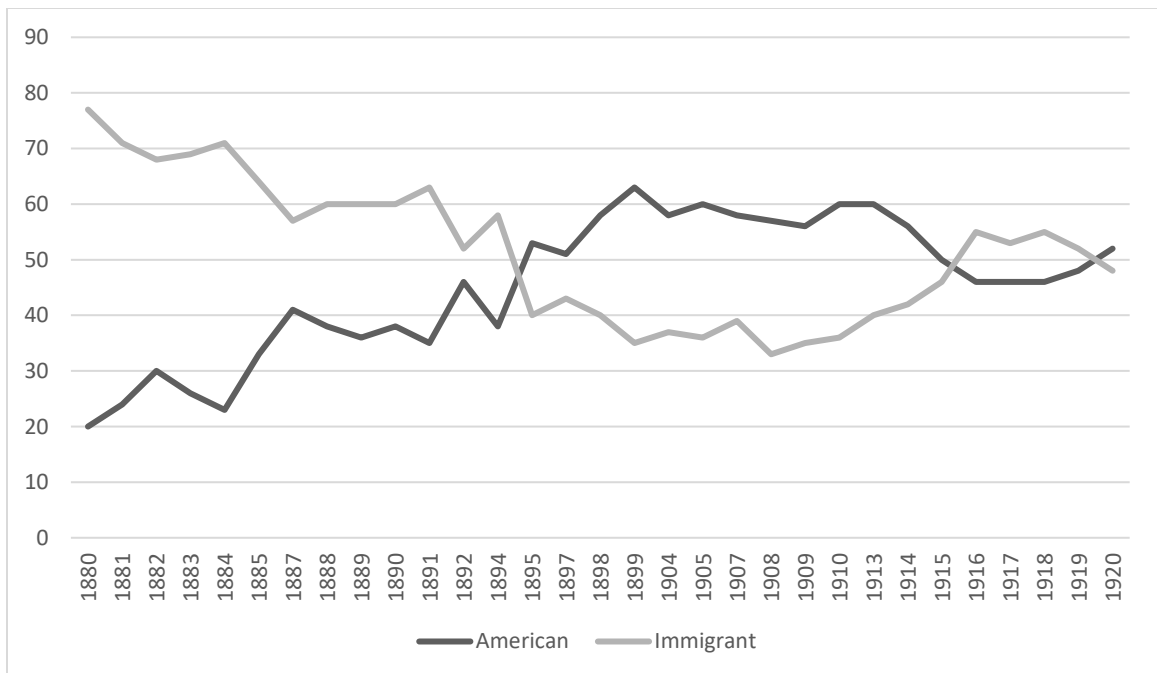


Figure 9 Proportion of Businesses with American-Born or Immigrant Owners



Chapter 3 Trends and Owner Histories

We have already seen in what ways the Southside business women differed from the Southside businessmen, but we have not yet discussed what made these women different from other women who did not go into business for themselves. There are personal attributes that contributed to the likelihood that a woman would enter into or be successful in business. I will first describe the sample based on birthplace, language, first year in business, residency, age, and marital status. I will then discuss how some of these factors may or may not have influenced the success of the business, using the length of time in business as a stand-in for success. The description of these attributes will be accompanied by a discussion and, in many cases, the stories of businesswomen to highlight the exemplars and the exceptions.

Dates in Business

The rate and quantity of female-owned establishments do not have any discernable temporal pattern (R. L. Polk 1880-1920). Before looking at the real numbers, one would likely presume that the numbers would have a general upward trend as the years progressed with a peak around the time of World War I. Neither of these predictions are true. The number of businesses with female proprietors in the study is highest in 1897, when there are 14. This is also the year when the greatest quantity of new woman-owned businesses appears in the directory, at eight. The proportion peaks the following year, when 12 out of the 30 listed businesses, or 40%, are owned by women. One of the years with the lowest quantity was, predictably, 1880. That was only the second year that married women in Indiana could legally own property (Murphy 1987: 158), and it is probable that women who had been running establishments that were titled

to their husbands may not have seen any benefit in changing their arrangements when the law changed. Less predictably, this low number is matched in 1907. Because there are a larger total number of businesses in 1907, 41 as compared to 30 in 1880, 1907 is the year with the lowest percentage of women at 4.9%. The percentage in 1880 is 6.7, which is also repeated in 1915, when only 3 out of 45 businesses on South Meridian had documented female involvement. This information is summarized in Table 9. This table counts individual businesses, not owners. Businesses with more than one owner are only counted once. The final column displays how many new businesses run by women were started in a given year. In five cases this indicates the first year for the business itself, though a woman did not become involved until a later date. Those instances are in 1885, 1887 (2), 1904, and 1915. The two businesses that are present in 1880 were first opened in 1878, which does not appear on this table.

The year with the highest number of female-owned businesses on the street, 1897, does not stand out from the rest of the years in many other ways. The businesswomen are typical of those found throughout the decades. The ages of the 14 women ranged from 23 to 62 with an average of 39.5 years while the whole sample has just a slightly larger range and a very similar average. All but two of the 14 spoke English as their first language and seven of them were natives of Indiana. Most of them were involved in either millinery or dress making, which are also the most common among the whole sample. The only thing that does seem to stand out about the businesses that were present in 1897 is their length. They ranged from one to 23 years, with an average of 9.6 years. The average for the whole sample is much lower, at 5.9 years. The year with the lowest proportion of female-owned businesses, 1907, does stand out from the rest of the years.

The two businesses that were present during that year lasted the longest of any in the sample at 23 and 52 years. They were businesses owned by Lillian Crawley and Frances McDowell. Frances McDowell inherited her business after her husband's death in 1911, so she did not have an official role in 1907 (Anderson 2009b). Taking that in to account, Lillian Crawley was the sole woman running a business on South Meridian street in 1907.

Lillie Crawley Burton

The sole female proprietor on South Meridian in 1907 noted above was Lillian, or Lillie, Crawley Burton. She was likely born in 1867, though that date varies depending upon the source (U. S. Census Bureau 1900e: 2, 1910b: 2B, 1920b: 1B, 1930a: 6A; Marion County 2005; Anderson 2009c). Her parents were Hiram T. Crawley and Eliza J. Sinclair, both natives of Indiana (U.S. Census Bureau 1900e: 2). Her mother came from a family of note. Her brother, Lillie's uncle, Lee Wiley Sinclair, bought and renovated the West Baden Springs Hotel (Figure 9), which still stands today in Orange County, Indiana (French Lick Resort 2012). Lillie's cousin, who shared her first name, eventually made her own mark as a woman in business after inheriting the hotel and later selling it for a million dollars in the early 1920s (French Lick Resort 2012).

In 1893, Lillie Crawley married Chester MacQueen (*Indianapolis News* 1893a: 6), who worked for a livestock company, A. Baber & Co at the Union Stock Yards, as a solicitor (R. L. Polk 1890). She first appeared in the directory as a milliner after their marriage but was listed under her maiden name of Crawley (R. L. Polk 1897). Their marriage did not last long and news of their divorce was in the local newspaper in 1898 (*Indianapolis News* 1898a: 11). She lived with her parents on South Illinois, a block west

of her business, after the divorce (U.S. Census Bureau 1900e: 2). They later moved about three miles north of the Near Southside neighborhood where her millinery shop remained open through 1919 (U. S. Census Bureau 1910b: 2B; R. L. Polk 1919). She married her second husband, Claud Burton, who worked as a brakeman, in 1917 or 1918 (R. L. Polk 1917, 1918). Claud died in 1928 and Lillie died a few years later in 1932 (Anderson 2009c).

While the source of her own independent wealth is not traceable, it is clear that Lillian Crawley Burton came from a privileged family. There are a number of land transfers of sizeable amounts (\$700, \$1400, \$2000, \$3400, and \$5400) in her name, some while she was still very young, prior to the death of her father and her first marriage (*Indianapolis News* 1892: 6, 1898b: 7, 1900b: 9, 1916: 17). In her case, starting off with money likely helped her to establish herself in business. This also means that she, perhaps, did not have to work, but chose to do so. Further evidence of her independence is implied by the fact that there is no documentation of her ever using the name of her first husband other than during their divorce, as well as her ability to hold her own as the sole female business owner on the block in 1907.

Business Type

Business categories and how they differ between male and female business owners was displayed in the previous chapter. Here the specific business types owned by women will be explored. Previous studies have shown that women usually either make up a large majority or the businesspeople in a given field, around 95%, or, conversely, a very small majority, around 5 % (Murphy 1991: 67). Women may not be excluded entirely from male-dominated businesses, but they are unlikely to be active in them in large

numbers. This sample sees professions gendered in a consistent way. Table 10 shows a listing of all of the business types represented among the female business owners. The percentages are based on the 56 unique female-owned businesses, counting the millinery business co-owned by the Duth sisters only once. The count total adds up to 68 due to 11 establishments that served two or more purposes. There are 25 types represented in the sample and only 10 of those were represented more than once. On the whole block for the 40-year period there were 84 different types of businesses and women were active in less than 30% of them. There was much less variety and much more concentration. Exactly half of all of the female-owned businesses were millinery shops or dressmakers. Of the 84 unique business types represented, 59 of them were exclusively male, and several other are dominated by males. Relatively few business types, seven, are exclusively owned by females: Artist, Boarding House, Decorator, Hairdresser, Hair Goods, Music Teacher, and Nurse.

The most common business types among women in the sample are unsurprising: Dressmakers, Milliners, and Boarding Houses. These, along with some of the other types, fit into the model of the work of women paralleling the work that they would have already been doing in the home: sewing, cooking, cleaning, and caring for people. While it is undeniable that some of these assumptions about women in business at the time are true, there are also a number of exceptions to this. It is important to acknowledge the women who entered into fields that were primarily dominated by males, such as Saloons, Physicians, Meats, Tobacco, and Shoes. Below I will profile some of the Indianapolis women involved in unexpected industries.

Julia Krauss

Julia Krauss is the only woman in the sample who was listed as the owner of a saloon. Saloons were fairly common in the neighborhood, with over 30 existing over the course of 40 years. Several of them were only around long enough to be listed in a single directory, but some were open much longer, up to 39 years. Julia's saloon was closer to the lower end, at 2 to 4 years. She is listed in the 1894 and 1895 directories (R. L. Polk), but without access to the directories from 1893 and 1896 it cannot be verified that she was or was not in business at that time. The two verified years are used in all of the calculations for the group.

Julia Felderbaum was born in Hungary in December of 1859 to a Jewish family (U. S. Census Bureau 1900b: 7; Mahaffey 2013; Ancestry.com 2016). In 1880 she married Elias Krauss, while still living in Hungary (U. S. Census Bureau 1900b: 7). Her first child, Sarah, was born in 1881, and her second child, Abraham, was born in 1883, the same year that she arrived in the United States. Five more children, Martin, Rosa, Edelin, Rachel, and Etta, were born between 1884 and 1899 (U. S. Census Bureau 1900b: 7). All of the children, aside from Etta, were born before 1894, the presumed year that her saloon was established. This means that when she went into business, Julia Krauss was in her mid-thirties, married, with six children and another on the way.

Her husband, Elias, may have taken over her business, assuming he had not been running it before, and moved it to a different location. At the time of the 1900 census, Elias is listed as a saloon keeper, while Julia does not have an occupation noted. Neither Julia nor Elias are listed in the city directories in 1897 or 1898, but Elias does reappear in 1899 and 1904 (R. L. Polk). In both of those years he is a saloon owner, first on West

Washington and then on Virginia. Elias' businesses had a bit of a rough history. The *Indianapolis News* (1895: 7) from September 5, 1895 reported on his struggle to obtain a liquor license for a saloon on Massachusetts, which was opposed, through signatures on a remonstrance, by nearly 500 people. The December 4, 1903 issue (*Indianapolis News* 1903b: 2) reported the closure of the Virginia location due to a failure to renew his license. This fate was shared by three other area saloons. While the initial business was listed in Julia's name, the future business implies that it was, perhaps, always under the control of her husband, despite his struggles to succeed. In the following decades, Julia lived in both Ohio and Florida, before her death in 1933 (Toledo Directory Co. 1923; R. L. Polk 1930b; Mahaffey 2013).

Retta Rice

Alfaretta Miller was born in Indiana on April 25, 1860 to Samuel and Emaline Miller (U.S. Census Bureau 1870b: 398A; State of California 2000). Both of her parents were born in Ohio. Her father was a farmer and Justice of the Peace in Tippecanoe county (U.S. Census Bureau 1870b: 398A; U. S. Census Bureau 1880e: 152B). Retta and her three sisters grew up in Transitville, Indiana, a township that was established by her father in the 1850s, which is now called Buck Creek, about 70 miles northwest of Indianapolis (Lewis Publishing Company 1888; Baker and Carmony 1974). Figure 10 shows a map of the small township. In 1884 she married Calvin Rice, who was from the neighboring township of Washington (U. S. Census Bureau 1870c: 384A, 1900g: 2). Two of their four children survived past childhood: George, born in 1892, and Hazel, born in 1894 (U. S. Census Bureau 1900g: 2).

The first sign of Calvin and Retta in Indianapolis is in the form of a land transfer notice, in which Retta purchased a lot for \$500 in 1896 (*Indianapolis Journal* 1896b: 7). Both of them appeared in the directory for the first time in 1898, at which time Retta was listed as the owner of a shoe store at 828 South Meridian and Calvin was not associated with any profession (R. L. Polk). There was a total of two shoe stores on the block in 1898, 4 in 1899, and about 25 over the entire period from 1880 to 1920, including shoemakers, shoe repairers, and shoe retailers (R. L. Polk 1880-1920). Each of these, aside from Retta's, was owned by a man. In 1899 Calvin was listed as a clerk in the directory without a business name or address (R. L. Polk 1899). It is possible that he was working at his wife's store.

While Transitville was, and Buck Creek remains, a very modest place, it is probable that Retta came from a position of privilege. The couple's finances being linked to the Miller family could explain why there are records of several lots being bought and sold in Retta's name, but none in Calvin's (*Indianapolis Journal* 1896b: 7, 1899: 7, 1900: 7; *Indianapolis News* 1897: 7, 1902: 5). This also leads to the possibility that, like Julia Krauss, Retta was not actually operating the shoe store, but was just the legal owner while it was run by her husband. This cannot be confirmed and there is no indication that Calvin was involved with shoes before or after this time. The directories do not distinguish between men's and women's shoes, so it is also possible that Retta was selling women's shoes, a much more conventional occupation for a woman at the time. After their short time in Indianapolis, the Rice family moved back to Tippecanoe County, where Retta remained beyond the time of Calvin's death in 1912 (U. S. Census Bureau 1900g: 2; IARA 1912; R. L. Polk 1915b). By the time of the 1920 census she was living

in Chicago and by 1930 she had again relocated to Los Angeles (U. S. Census Bureau 1920a: 1B, 1930c: 35A). In 1930 her son, George, was living with her, and in 1940 both of her children were at the same address (U. S. Census Bureau 1940: 3B). Retta never remarried, and at the time of her death in 1941 was living in Los Angeles (State of California 2000). After the record of the shoe store in 1899, there is no record of Retta having a profession outside of the home.

Birthplace and Language

As shown in the previous section, there was far less diversity in birthplace and language among women than there was among men. Tables 11, 12, and 13 display these patterns for women alone. It is unlikely that chance would result in 80% of the female entrepreneurs being born in the United States. Even though this was not a factor for males, it played a role in the decision or ability of females to open or run a business at the time. Language may have played a role in giving this advantage to women born in America. The time period in question marks the beginning of widespread beliefs that to be successful in America and to be a “real” American meant speaking English fluently or, better yet, exclusively (Pavlenko 2002: 165). Despite this, living in a neighborhood with a large population from one’s native country negatively impacts the likelihood of learning English (Lazear 1999: 101). Additionally, men have greater access to language learning opportunities than women (Labov 1998: 379). Dependence on the native language exclusively would prevent communication with English speakers, which would be a hindrance to running a successful business in Indianapolis. Among the majority who were born in the United States, the biggest portion of those were born in Indiana. I do not

believe that being native to Indiana gave any real advantage to the women, they were just more likely to be there at the time.

Margaretha Hoenig

Margaretha Hoenig is a business owner who reflects the advantage of birthplace and strong neighborhood connections in business success. She was not just a proprietor, but there is also evidence of her long-standing tie to the community. Margaretha, sometimes documented as Maggie or Margaret, was born in 1859 to Herman and Mary Haerst or Hoerst (U. S. Census Bureau 1870a: 328A). She was born in Indiana, but her parents were both from Germany. She had two younger brothers, Joseph, born around 1862, and John, born around 1865. Her father was a tailor and the family lived on the Southside, on Pennsylvania, during her childhood (Edwards' & Co. 1866).

In 1877, Margaretha married Sebastian Hoenig (FamilySearch 2013). The couple had a total of seven children, five of whom survived: Margaret, Herman, John, Flora, and Mary (U. S. Census Bureau 1900d: 2). Sebastian opened an establishment on South Meridian in 1879 (R. L. Polk 1879). Between that time and 1891, it was both a grocer and a saloon, which were operated by Sebastian until his death from typhoid in 1890 (R. L. Polk 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891; *Indianapolis News* 1890: 3). In 1884 and 1885, her father is listed as the owner of a Tailor and Dry Goods store at the same address, 458 South Meridian, later re-numbered 914 South Meridian (R. L. Polk 1884, 1885). Margaretha herself first appears in the business directory in 1894, as the owner of a dry goods store, which was after the death of her husband (R. L. Polk 1894). She remained in the dry goods business until 1900 or 1901, after which time she remained at the same location, now numbered 914 South

Meridian, but converted from a seller of dry goods to a milliner (R. L. Polk 1900, 1902). Her millinery shop remained open through 1907 (R. L. Polk 1907, 1908).

Anna Wagner's Trial

Besides being present on the block for at least 29 years and living in the area since birth, Margaret Hoenig's connection to the neighborhood is evidenced by her involvement in a trial that received significant coverage in the local press. Between October of 1892 and May of 1893 five members of the Koesters family died, with the final death raising suspicions (*Indianapolis News* 1893b: 2). Charles Koesters was the proprietor of the furniture store that was directly next door to Margaret's home and business (R. L. Polk 1894). In the summer of 1893 the Koesters' servant, Anna Wagner, was charged with the deaths of Mamie, Frank, and Clara Koesters, but was only tried for the death of Clara, the mother of Charles (*Indianapolis News* 1893r: 1). The trial began in December of that year. The interest in the case was extremely high and it was compared to the trial of Lizzie Borden, which had concluded shortly before (*Indianapolis News* 1893e: 7). The sensational nature of the case and the sympathetic appearance of the young, German defendant led to daily scenes of chaos in the courtroom, according to newspaper reports of the time (*Indianapolis News* 1893f: 2, 1893g: 2, 1893h: 1-2, 1893i: 2, 1893j: 1-2, 1893k: 5, 1893l: 2, 1893m: 2, 1893n: 4, 1893o: 2, 1893p: 2, 1893q: 1, 1893r: 1, 1893s: 1, 1893t: 2, 1893u: 2, 1893v: 1, 1893w: 1, 1893x: 2, 1893y: 2, 1893z: 2).

Many of the witnesses called at the trial were residents and business owners from South Meridian Street, with much of the state's case relying on the word of the druggist, George Borst, who stated that he sold rat poison to Anna Wagner on the morning of the fifth death (*Indianapolis News* 1893b: 2). At least three of the female business owners

were called upon for their testimony. This included Theresa Delaney, nurse, and Mary Schmitt, dressmaker, along with Margaret Hoenig (*Indianapolis News* 1893j: 1-2). One day of the trial coverage even seems to confuse Margaret Hoenig with the sister-in-law of Charles Koesters, Kate Ohleyer, whose father and brother were also businessmen in the neighborhood (*Indianapolis News* 1893j: 1-2); R. L. Polk 1894, 1895). Mrs. Hoenig was able to not only testify about the shopping habits of Anna Wagner but was also present in the Koesters home for the preparation of Clara's body (*Indianapolis News* 1893d: 2, 1893j: 1-2). The people on this street were not only neighbors, but also significant parts of each other's lives. Ultimately, Miss Wagner was acquitted on the charges related to the death of Clara Koesters and the state chose to drop the remaining charges (*Indianapolis News* 1893z: 2). Charles Koesters complained early on in the case that his business was negatively impacted by the publicity, but the Koesters family store remained open for over 20 years after the deaths (*Indianapolis News* 1893c: 2; R. L. Polk 1924).

Residency

At the turn of the century it was very common for the owners of businesses to live and work at the same location. This held true for this sample. I could only confirm that seven of the total 57 women lived at an address other than that of their business during their first year and only three could not be determined (R. L. Polk 1880-1920). Of those seven, five of the businesses lasted only one or two years apiece. The exceptions are Lillie Crawley/Burton, profiled above, who worked as a milliner on South Meridian for 23 years and Frances McDowell, whose detailed story is below.

Frances McDowell Lantz

Frances McDowell, while being one of very few South Meridian business owners who did not also live on the street, ran one of the longest lasting businesses on the block. It was on the top not just among women, but when looking at all of the businesses over the 40-year period. At 52 years, it lasted more than twice as long as the next longest among females and ranks third overall, behind the Doenges grocer and tea shop, which was handed down through multiple generations for a total of 64 years, and Safrin Department Store, which did not close until 1982 after 68 years in business (R. L. Polk 1879, 1915a, 1942, 1982).

Frances McIntyre was born in 1881 or 1882 to parents James and Kizzey in Franklin, Indiana (Social Security Administration; FamilySearch 2013). On January 10, 1901 she married Charles McDowell (FamilySearch 2013). The couple had one son, also named Charles, in February of 1903 (*Indianapolis News* 1903a: 10). Sometime between 1900 and 1904, Charles opened a wallpaper store at 933/935 South Meridian (R. L. Polk 1899, 1904, 1908). Interestingly, a second wallpaper store with a proprietor named McDowell also opened on the block during the same timeframe, but it was gone by 1905 and it is not clear if there is any relation (R. L. Polk 1905). Charles Sr. died on January 31, 1911 (Anderson 2009b). Frances' name does not appear as the owner of the wallpaper store until 1914, but she was presumably running it from the time of his death in 1911, if not before that time (R. L. Polk 1913, 1914). On March 3, 1923, Frances married Melville E. Lantz (FamilySearch 2013). Melville was ten years younger than Frances and was her tenant and employee prior to their marriage (U. S. Census Bureau 1920c: 16A). In November of 1925, Charles Jr. married Frederica Stewart and he and his wife

remained in Frances' College Avenue home with her and Melville (U. S. Census Bureau 1930b: 11A; Marion County 2005).

The business remained at the same location with consistent involvement of Frances over the years. From 1917 to 1919, Frances was also listed in the directory as a decorator (R. L. Polk 1917, 1919). The store did not just sell wallpaper, but also installed it, as is evidenced by ads they placed for a paste boy and paper hangers in local newspapers (*Indianapolis News* 1918: 20, 1919a: 20, 1919b: 20). Even after her marriage to Melville, she still had her own residential listing in the directory as well as her business listing, both of which kept the name McDowell until the 1934 directory (R. L. Polk 1934). She is even still listed as being the widow of Charles for an entire decade after her second marriage (R. L. Polk 1923-1933). The 1930 census record confirms that she did change her name to Lantz before then, even though she kept the name McDowell professionally (U. S. Census Bureau 1930b: 11A). In 1933, Frances and Charles are first listed as co-owners of the business, now called C.H. McDowell Co (R. L. Polk 1933). Frances, Charles, Melville, and Frederica remained living at the College Avenue house through 1949, after which time they are listed as living on Road 6 and later Road 31 (R. L. Polk 1949, 1951, 1954). Frances' name last appears associated with the business in 1954 (R. L. Polk 1954). The following two years list Charles as the sole owner and Frances is not listed the Indianapolis directory. The business closed in 1956, after 52 years at the same location (R. L. Polk 1956, 1957).

Sometime between 1956 and 1959, Frances, Frederica, and Charles relocated to Sarasota Florida, where the three remained living together (R. L. Polk 1959b). Melville had died before the family left Indiana in January of 1952 (Coles 2016). By the time of

their move, Charles was in his fifties and Frances was in her seventies. It is likely that this was retirement for both of them, as there is no further indication of employment for either. The family moved into a brand new home, built in 1958, in Sarasota that is still there today (Zillow 2018). The home is on the Phillippi River and only a short distance from the Gulf Coast. Frances survived until 1976, just short of her 95th birthday (Anderson 2009e). Her son and daughter-in-law only outlived her by one year and two years, respectively. All three were returned to Indiana for burial (Anderson 2009a; 2009e, 2009f). Frances Lantz inherited a business in her thirties and remained an active part of that business for around 45 years. Her success displays that though it was the norm, it was not necessary to reside at one's place of business.

Length of Time in Business

The businesses in the sample vary widely when it comes to the length of time in business. Looking at the total years of a business's existence, rather than just the years during which a woman had a stake in it, the range is from one to 52 years. Six of the 56 businesses only have female involvement documented for a portion of their time in business, I have chosen to exclude the three of those for which a woman is in control for less than half of the time from the length calculations, for the other three the entire life of the business will be used rather than just the time that it was in the control of a woman. Table 14 displays those that had a change in ownership from male to female. Esther Simon, Frederica Merz, and Jane Sleight are the three women who will be excluded. The average length for the 53 remaining businesses is 5.2 years.

The amount of time that a business is present on the block is not always straightforward. Some of the short-term businesses had a longer life at a different

location. Changes in location could have taken place for a number of reasons. Because only a small number of businesses in the sample moved away from the area the time at other locations is not included in these calculations. The distribution of lengths of time in business is very concentrated to the lower end. The information is summarized in Table 15 for the 53 that were used to come up with the 5.2-year average, as described above. With the majority of cases falling below the average, I also calculated an average with outliers excluded. For these data, the first quartile is 1 and the third quartile is 6, making an interquartile range of 5. All businesses lasting over 13.5 years are, by this method, defined as outliers. This eliminates six instances from the set, shown in Table 16. The new average is a much more modest 2.8 years.

Age of Women in Business

The ages of the women in the sample are based on the age they were when their business first opened. This section is based initially upon the 57 total women, this varies from the 56 businesses because one business was co-owned. Of these, there were only four for whom an age could not be determined. These ages are based on the year of birth and the year that the business first appeared in the city directory, not accounting for the month of birth. Most of the ages are accurate to within a year, with the exception of women for whom different birthdates were found from different sources. In those cases, the most likely date has been used and the differences should be minor. The ages range from 18 to 66, with an average of 37.8 years. The highest concentration, about 54.4%, of business women started between the ages of 25 and 39. This information, with the data divided into age groups, is summarized in Table 17 and illustrated in Figure 11. This

distribution of ages is not surprising, as those are ages that likely represent a stable time in life.

The outliers in the age pattern are interesting to look at because of the commonalities between them. The two women who were oldest when their businesses opened were Lowancha Eshelman and Elizabeth Furgason, at 64 and 66 years respectively (R. L. Polk 1910, 1913; IARA 1917, 1932). Their time in business overlapped and both of them were widows while running their businesses, though Elizabeth's husband was living when she first opened hers (U. S. Census 1910c: 3B; R. L. Polk 1910, 1913; Anderson 2009d). Further, they both ran the same type of business, boarding houses. There are similar commonalities among the entrepreneurs on the lower end of the age spectrum. The five youngest were Maggie McGlenn, Mary Herd, Rae Efroymsen, Carrie Schoettle, and Anna Cahill (R. L. Polk 1881, 1888, 1895, 1898; U. S. Census Bureau 1880a: 752C, 1900d: 4, 1900f: 12, 1910a: 13A; Marion County 2005). All five of them were unmarried when they began and four of them were dressmakers (R. L. Polk 1881; *Indianapolis Journal* 1889d: 5; U. S. Census Bureau 1900f: 12, 1910d: 10A; Marion County 2005). Each of them was also born in Indiana and all but one lived at the same address as their business. Only one of their businesses lasted more than two years, and all were opened and closed prior to 1900. These five businesses seem to reflect the instability of the young businesswoman, while the example of the two oldest display how a need for income was filled through an extension of maternal responsibilities.

Marital Status

Marital status is another factor that I looked into for its potential impact on the likelihood of a woman entering into business. Table 18 contains the counts and

percentages of women in the sample who were single, married, widowed, and divorced during their first year in business. There were 12 single, 22 married, 13 widowed, and one divorced. There were also nine women for whom marital status could not be conclusively determined: for four of those it was clear they were either widowed or married, another was either widowed or divorced, and there is no information for the remaining three. Marital status was determined through marriage records, death records, census data, and directories, which would often note if a woman was a widow or list her name along with her husband's if she were married.

In this sample, women who opened their own business were nearly twice as likely to be married than either single or widowed. This contradicts the idea presented by Robert V. Robinson (1995) in which he stated that it was socially unacceptable, or, at best, undesirable, for married women to work, though he does acknowledge that this began to change at the turn of the century. His work is focused solely on employment, and not specifically self-employment. This street, and other similar areas with a large proportion of buildings that contained both storefronts and living space may be an environment that is less welcoming to unmarried women. In some cases, establishing a business on South Meridian could mean being required to have the financial means to purchase or rent the entire building, not just a modest business space. Married women could have been in a better position to make this happen. Not only could they have the financial backing of their husbands, but three of the married women actually operated their enterprises out of the same premises as their husbands' businesses. Similarly, two of the widowed women were operating out of a space that had been previously acquired by

their late husbands and four of the single women were working out of the homes of their parents. A listing of the women I can confirm were in these situations is in Table 19.

While these circumstances explain how some of the single and widowed women were able to establish their businesses without the support of a man, there are still many that began without obvious means of support. Most of the women, regardless of marital status, had to find a location for themselves. A greater proportion of women were married than either single or widowed, but they still make up less than half of the business owners for whom marital status could be determined. Ultimately, it does not seem that being married or unmarried by itself had any real impact on the decision or ability to enter in to business.

As with age, I also investigated trends in business type among the different marital statuses. In addition, I looked at the relationship between marital status and the amount of time in business. There is some variety in the most common businesses for each, but the expected categories stick towards the top as presented in the section on business types above. Table 20 has a breakdown of the two most common businesses for each age group, the percentage they represent within that age group, and the number of different types that were included. For these calculations, women that were involved in more than one business were counted as half an occurrence for each. For example, Mamie Sussman was a milliner and Margaretha Hoenig first owned a dry goods store and then switched to millinery, so I counted there as being 1.5 milliners among the widows. Milliners were the first or second most common among all marital statuses.

What seems to most stand out from this information is the wide variety of business types in which widows were involved. Three of the 13 were involved in more

than one business, as compared to only one each among married and single women. The variety could be attributed to women inheriting businesses that are in commonly male dominated fields. Though, as shown in the previous table, only two widows directly inherited a business, they are both of types that are not seen among married or single businesswomen. If those two types were excluded there would be equivalent variety between the types of businesses owned by married women and those owned by widows.

The marital status of the Southside female entrepreneurs could have had an impact on how long their businesses lasted. To investigate this, I looked at time in business for the women for whom marital status could be determined and ran the business for at least half of its life. This is a total of 46 individuals. As noted above, this only reflects their status at their first year in business and does not reflect later changes in status. Comparing this information with the numbers for marital status at the last year in business is something to be considered in further research on the topic, though even this would not account for all of the variability. For example, Lillie Crawley was married when her business was first established, she was divorced shortly after and for the majority of time in business, but her business was not closed until after she remarried (*Indianapolis News* 1893a: 6, 1898a: 11; R. L. Polk 1917-1919). She would be counted as being married using the first or last year, but she was divorced the bulk of the time that her millinery shop was open. Table 21 shows the results for each marital status. This table shows that widowed women, on average, kept their businesses running for the longest time, 9.3 years, followed by married women at 5.8 years, and then single women at 2.8 years. With only one divorced business owner in the sample, the information is not useful enough to consider in a ranking. Table 22 shows the same information with the

outliers, as defined above, excluded. With the exclusion of the five cases defined as outliers, there is very little difference between the average times in business, with all marital statuses having an average length between 2.8 and 3.4 years.

Even while acknowledging that the differences are not that significant, it is still worth noting that of the six cases being excluded as outliers, three were married, three were widowed, and none were single. The longest lasting business started by a single woman was only present for 6 years. There is one obvious reason why the businesses of single women close so quickly: their businesses were only meant to keep them busy until they got married, which many of them did. There are some exceptions in the group, women who remained single throughout their lives, but this was not the norm. Widows by comparison, though some in the group did eventually remarry, felt less pressure to do so.

Lotta Guffin

Lotta Guffin is an interesting example to highlight here because she is both the sole woman who was divorced at the time that she went into business and because she is the only one in her field. She was not working on the block for a particularly long time, only three years, but she had strong ties to Indianapolis and chose to return to the city towards the end of her life. It was at that time when she set up shop on South Meridian Street as an artist (R. L. Polk 1893, 1895). Lotta was born Charlotte A. Hillis in Decatur County, Indiana in 1844 (*Indianapolis News* 1896: 5). She had at least five siblings, but these were hard to keep track of. After the death of her father in 1857 and the death of her mother in 1858, the children were sent to live with different relatives (U. S. Census Bureau 1850: 40A, 1860a: 802, 1860b: 701; Porter 2010a, 2010b).

Despite this tumultuous upbringing, Lotta went on to have a successful and unconventional life for a woman of the time. She studied at Northwestern Christian University (which later became Butler College) and excelled in the arts, both painting and music (*Indianapolis News* 1896: 5). She studied painting under Jacob Cox, who was also once a small business owner near downtown Indianapolis (Sallee 1998). Lotta first worked as a music teacher before turning her attention to painting. She worked and lived in other parts of the country, notably Chicago and New York, with a few returns to Indianapolis. She specialized in portraits and painted some prominent people of the time, including Colorado Governor Alva Adams and socialist minister Myron W. Reed (*Indianapolis Journal* 1889a: 5; Denton 1997). One of her younger siblings, William O’Kane Hillis, also had a career in the arts. He was an actor with the Fanny Davenport Dramatic Company and ultimately settled in New York (*Daily Wabash Express* 1884: 4; New York State Archive 2011; New York Department of Health 2017).

In 1864 Lotta married teacher Henry C. Guffin (U. S. Census Bureau 1880d: 247A; Family Search 2013). The couple had two daughters, Willa and Jessie, before their divorce in 1880 (*Indianapolis News* 1880: 2, 1896: 5; Ancestry.com 2011). Willa and Jessie both married and settled in Chicago. It was late in Lotta’s life before she set up shop on South Meridian Street. She first appears in the directory in 1893 and again in 1895 under the heading of “artist” (R. L. Polk). During this time, she was suffering from tuberculosis. She died from the disease in 1896 while staying with her daughter Jessie and son-in-law W.F. Hall in Chicago (*Indianapolis News* 1896: 5). She is buried in Chicago, even though she chose to spend some of the last years of her life back in Indiana (Time Traveler 2015).

Summary

The conclusion that can be made from this information is that there was not any one typical model of female business owners in this neighborhood at the time. There were some trends, but in most cases, they are overwhelmed by the diversity. The largest number of women were operating businesses in 1887, but there was at least one present during each of the 40 years. Most of them were either milliners or dressmakers, but there were others who branched out into more traditionally masculine professions. Women born in Indiana were over-represented, but this was far from exclusive. The average woman-owned shop did not last longer than five years, but two of them lasted over 20. Ages ranged from teenager to senior citizen, with a predictable average right in the middle of the two. Being successful was not dependent on having, or not having, a husband or children. In short, going into business for oneself may not have been typical for women at the time, but their gender was not a complete barrier, even when combined with varying ages, birthplaces, and marital statuses.

Table 9 Quantity and Proportion of Woman-Owned Businesses, by Year

Year	Total Businesses	Female Full or Part Ownership	Percentage Female	New Female Owned Opened
1880	30	2	6.7	0
1881	34	4	11.8	2
1882	34	4	11.8	1
1883	32	6	18.8	2
1884	35	4	11.4	0
1885	36	3	8.3	0
1887	44	9	20.5	7
1888	45	8	17.8	1
1889	47	8	17.0	0
1890	44	8	18.2	0
1891	42	7	16.7	1
1892	45	10	22.2	3
1894	40	8	20.0	3
1895	45	11	24.4	3
1897	47	14	29.8	8
1898	40	12	30.0	3
1899	40	11	27.5	2
1904	43	6	14.0	3
1905	42	5	11.9	1
1907	41	2	4.9	0
1908	43	3	7.0	1
1909	44	3	6.8	0
1910	46	4	8.7	2
1913	53	6	11.3	3
1914	48	4	8.3	1
1915	57	4	14.3	2
1916	51	3	17.0	0
1917	45	3	6.7	0
1918	44	3	6.8	0
1919	44	5	11.4	2
1920	46	6	13.0	3
Total	354	56	15.8	

Figure 10 West Baden Springs Hotel, Image from Indiana Historical Society



Table 10 Business Types Owned by Women

Business Type	Count	Percent
Dress and Cloak Makers	15	26.8
Milliner	13	23.2
Boarding House	6	10.7
Dry Goods	4	7.1
Notions	4	7.1
Confectioners	3	5.4
China, Glass, and Queensware	2	3.6
Music Teacher	2	3.6
Nurse	2	3.6
Secondhand Goods	2	3.6
Artist	1	1.8
Baker	1	1.8
Boots and Shoes	1	1.8
Cigars and Tobacco	1	1.8
Decorator	1	1.8
Furniture	1	1.8
Grocer	1	1.8
Hair Goods	1	1.8
Hairdresser	1	1.8
Hardware	1	1.8
Meats	1	1.8
Physician	1	1.8
Restaurant	1	1.8
Saloon	1	1.8
Wallpaper	1	1.8

Figure 11 Kingman Brothers' Combination Atlas Map of Tippecanoe County, 1878

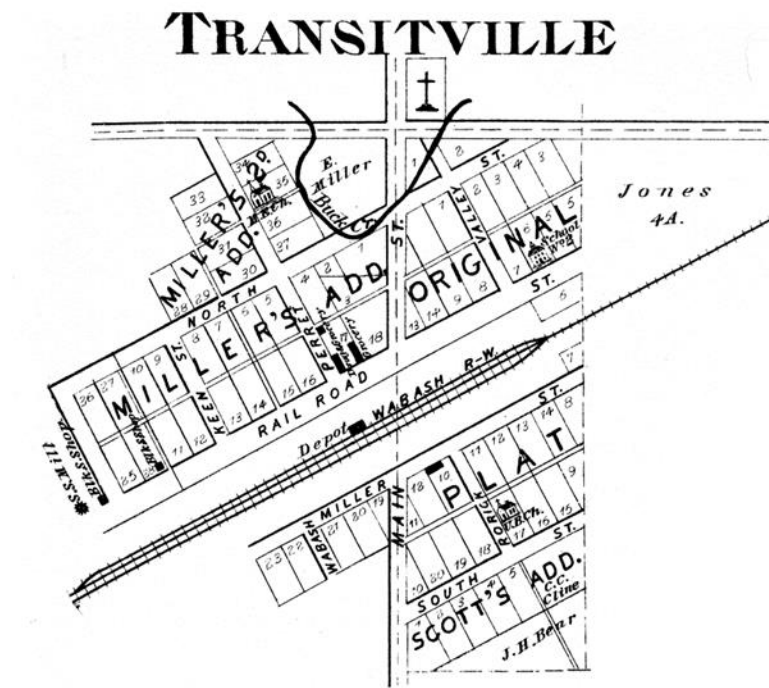


Table 11 First Language, Female

	Count	Percent
English	48	84.2
German	3	5.3
Hungarian	1	1.8
Yiddish	1	1.8
Russian	1	1.8
Unknown	3	5.8

Table 12 Country of Birth, Female

	Count	Percent
United States	47	82.5
Russia	4	7.0
Germany	3	5.3
England	1	1.8
Hungary	1	1.8
Unknown	1	1.8

Table 13 State of Birth for Those Born in U.S., Female

	Count	Percent
Indiana	31	66.0
Iowa	3	6.4
New York	3	6.4
Ohio	3	6.4
Pennsylvania	3	6.4
Illinois	1	2.1
Kentucky	1	2.1
Missouri	1	2.1
Tennessee	1	2.1

Table 14 Businesses with Partial Female Ownership

Owner	Business	Total Yrs.	Actual Yrs.	Avg
Frances McDowell Lantz	Wallpaper	52	44	48
Esther Simon	Second Hand Goods, etc.	27	1	14
Frederica Merz	Meats	19	1	10
Jane Sleight	Confectioner/Tobacco	7	1	4
Mary Herd	Dry Goods/Notions	4	3	3.5
Lillian Herndon	Second Hand Goods	2	1	1.5

Table 15 Distribution of Lengths

Year Range	Quantity	Percent
1 to 4	35	66.0
5 to 9	12	22.6
10 to 14	1	1.9
15 to 19	3	5.7
Over 20	2	3.8

Table 16 Length Outliers

Name	Business	Years Open
Margaret Hoenig	Dry Goods/Millinery	14
Martha J. Miller	Dressmaker	16
Ella Manien/Reister	Dry Goods	18
Mary Schmitt	Dressmaker	18
Lillie Crawley/Burton	Millinery	23
Frances McDowell Lantz	Wallpaper	52

Table 17 Age at First Year

Age	Count	Percent
18-24	5	8.8
25-29	9	15.8
30-34	11	19.3
35-39	11	19.3
40-44	3	5.3
45-49	3	5.3
50-54	4	7.0
55-59	3	5.3
60-64	3	5.3
65-69	1	1.8
Unknown	4	7.0

Figure 12 Female Age, First Year in Business

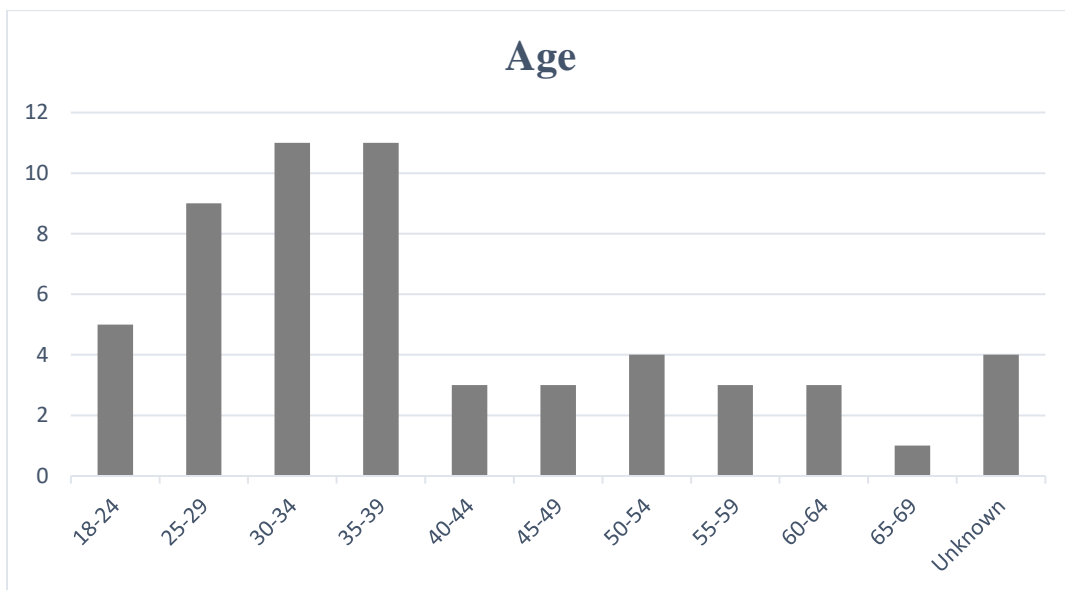


Table 18 First Year Marital Status

Status	Count	Percent
Single	12	21.1
Married	22	38.6
Widowed	13	22.8
Divorced	1	1.8
Unknown	9	15.8

Table 19 Businesses Operating in Space not Acquired by the Owner

Name	Business	Marital Status	Circumstance
Lena Bezner	Hairdresser	Married	Same location as husband's business.
Anna Cahill	Dressmaker	Single	Working from family home
Rae Efroymsen	Dressmaker	Single	Working from family home.
Catherine Glenn	Dressmaker	Widow	Premises inherited.
Mary Herd	Dry Goods	Single	Working from family home.
Margaret Hoenig	Dry Goods/Milliner	Widow	Premises inherited.
Anna Lipps	Dressmaker	Single	Working from family home.
Frances McDowell	Wallpaper	Widow	Inherited business.
Frederica Merz	Meats	Widow	Inherited business.
Flora Nelson	Music Teacher	Married	Same location as husband's business.
Mary Schmitt	Dressmaker	Married	Same location as husband's business.

Table 20 Business Types by Marital Status

	Married	Single	Widow
Most Common	Milliner, 34%	Dressmaker, 42%	Boarding House, 23%
Second	Dressmaker, 20%	Milliner, 25%	Milliner, 12%
Types Represented	11	7	13

Table 21 Business Length by Marital Status

Marital Status	Number of Individuals	Years		
		Mean	Median	Mode
Single	12	2.8	2	1
Married	21	5.8	3	2
Widowed	12	9.3	3.5	1
Divorced	1	3	3	3

Table 22 Business Length by Marital Status, Outliers Excluded

Marital Status	Number of Individuals	Years		
		Mean	Median	Mode
Single	12	2.8	2	1
Married	18	3.4	2	2
Widowed	9	2.9	2	1
Divorced	1	3	3	3

Chapter 4 Conclusions

The information collected and analyzed in the course of this research has primarily shown that women had an important role in small business operations on the South Side of Indianapolis between the years of 1880 and 1920. It has also shown that there is not any single constellation of attributes that combine to increase or decrease the probability of a woman entering in to business. There were, undoubtedly, women who were unable to start a business for any number of reasons, but this was also true for men. None of the obstacles were insurmountable all of the time. Even without a unifying trait for all female entrepreneurs, there are five conclusions which can be drawn from the data that speak to the conditions for women at the time and the role that business ownership had in their lives.

Barriers for Immigrants

The most striking comparisons between the males and females in the sample was the drastic difference between the proportion of immigrants in each group. Less than 20% of the women were born outside of the United States, while it was right around 50% for the men. This did not mean that immigrant women could not thrive once they were in business, but there was something holding them back. There are a few hypotheses that could explain the low numbers. They could have been a consequence of stricter cultural ideas about the roles of women that people brought with them from their home countries. They may have also had fewer opportunities and less time than their male counterparts to learn English while also handling household responsibilities. Another possibility is that there were just fewer of them in residence. Immigration rates between men and women are not always equal, and it is often believed that distant moves are more often taken by

men (Donato et al.: 499). This is contradicted by 19th century Irish immigrants, who were predominately female (Pedraza 1991: 312). The stories of immigrant women are less likely to be documented, giving the impression that they are either not present or did not do anything worthy of documentation (Pedraza 1991: 304). It is assumptions like these that make this study and others like it necessary to correct the record. Without a more detailed examination of the residents, it is not possible to say whether or not unequal immigration could have been a factor in this neighborhood. Whatever the reason, it is clear that being born in the United States did impact a woman's chances of starting a business, but the same impact was not present for men.

Balanced Social Roles

The female entrepreneurs of Indianapolis and other American cities around the turn of the century were not, as a group, radicals who were blatantly and purposefully shunning their expected roles. Other than divorced women, like Lillie Crawley and Lotta Guffin, most of the business women of the near Southside were meeting the social expectations applied to women of the time. They just managed an additional obligation on top of these. There is no indication that they were looked down upon or regarded as rebellious. Some of them may have had an extra degree of freedom when compared to their contemporaries, but not in a way that was at all outlandish. They were also, more often than not, operating businesses that were not morally questionable and conformed to notions of work that was appropriate for a woman.

The sheer variety of backgrounds and ages of the women speaks to the normality of the situation. If there had been any broad opposition to women in the business sphere it would have been written about more widely at the time, like press coverage of

suffragettes or women wearing their skirts too short. If anything, the modern image of what womanhood looked like over a 100 years ago is wrong. Women have come a long way since 1900, but most were not as restricted as some would have us believe. “Separate spheres” are mentioned in literature frequently, but it has become more common to recognize that there are many exceptions to the rules of historic gender roles. Exclusion from politics did not restrict all women to the lives of homemakers. The information presented here shows that, at least at this time and place, earning money and managing businesses in the public sphere were in the reach of many women without any clear resistance from the men in their lives or their community.

Economic Backgrounds

The socioeconomic status of women in business is a difficult concept because it seems to present a contradiction. Women who were working outside of the home tended to be in situations that put them in need of the income for themselves or their family. This unsteady financial situation would make it difficult to come up with the capital needed to open up one’s own business. On the opposite side of the spectrum are women of the upper classes who have no difficulty in finding the means with which to open a business, but this means they do not have a need to earn extra money. Women in the middle make the most sense, those with some money to make some initial investment, with the goal of improving the situations of their families. Exact finances for each of the business owners were not determined, but it seems that people at each level were opening businesses.

Lillie Crawley, who was profiled in the previous chapter, is the best example of a woman from an upper-class background who went into business for herself. In her case and those of others with a similar economic standing, it is possible that they were owners,

but hired others for everyday tasks. In the United States in 1900 there were around 83,000 milliners, but only 16,000 of them owned their own shops (Gamber 1994: 129). While many of the remaining milliners may have worked from home, it is likely that some of them were employed by other women. For middle class women, opening a business could help the family through the time when most of the children were at home, or serve to elevate their social standing. Flora V. Nelson, a piano teacher, is an example of a woman on South Meridian who was self-employed even though there was not a need for the extra income. Her husband was also a business owner, changing from a grocer to a seller of teas (R. L. Polk 1887, 1890). The couple did not have any children, but Flora was still instructing a large number of students up until six weeks before her death (*Indianapolis News* 1900a: 16). Their combined incomes would have allowed them to achieve a higher social standing than could have been achieved with only his income. The businesswomen with real need were more likely to be in businesses that did not require a large upfront investment. This is the clearest in the case of boarding houses, which could have been opened in the home that they already owned, or dressmakers who were operating out of their places of residence.

Family Contributions

Many of the women in the sample were single or childless, but there is evidence that those with families were contributing to finances when it was needed. Rather than working less when there were children at home, there were women who were working exclusively during those years. This suggests that women were able to take on the responsibility of providing for their families. Mary Schmitt is the best example of this phenomenon. She was a dressmaker from 1883 to 1900 at the same address as her

residence and the cigar shop run by her husband (R. L. Polk). The year that she went in to business was the same year that she gave birth to her son, Leonard, at which point the family had five living children. The two oldest were eight and 13, but she also had two other children under the age of three (U. S. Census Bureau 1880a: 758C, 1900d: 1). The 13-year-old was possibly helping to care for her younger siblings. Mary had one more child born in 1885. She remained in business until 1900 (R. L. Polk 1900), at which time her youngest child was 15 years old and her oldest daughter, Katie, had already left the home. By 1904, three of the children who were still living with John and Mary already had jobs outside of the home (R. L. Polk 1904). Mary only worked during the time when her family was in need of the extra income and then returned to her household role.

Independence

Business ownership, for some women, was a path to independence. The ability to begin and maintain a shop meant that unmarried or widowed women did not have to rely on their families for their livelihood. Within the sample there is one woman, Carrie Duth, who remained single throughout her life and had enough saved at the time of her death to leave money and property to family members. All but one of her heirs were female, with the sole male receiving the smallest amount. Duth owned a millinery shop with her sister, Mary, from 1888 until 1892 (R. L. Polk; U.S. Census Bureau 1920f: 7B). The sisters were born in Iowa and lived in Illinois before they made it to Indianapolis (U. S. Census Bureau 1880c: 66B). They later moved to Pennsylvania, where they lived at the time of Carrie's death (U.S. Census Bureau 1920f: 7B). In the 1920 Census, Carrie is listed as the head of the household, with her sister, niece, and great niece also living in her home. Her will left \$1000 to her niece, Mary, who was the daughter of a third sister, Jennie. Her

nephew Charles was left \$500 and his daughter, Dorothy, was left \$1000 with specification that it was to be used for completion of her education (Marion County 2015). The remainder of her property was given to her sister, who was also executor of the will. Carrie never married, supported herself, and then left the majority of her assets to female relatives. A second example of independence that was maintained is, again, Lillie Crawley, who remained single for nearly two decades between her first and second marriages.

Comparisons with Other Studies

Some of the research of others that has been cited throughout, particularly in chapter one, provides data from other places that can be compared to what was found on South Meridian Street. A few of these were covered above. For example, Gamber (1998) stated that it was more likely for lower classes of women to seek employment while Archer (1991) and Fregulia (2015) noted that a middle or upper-class status with a source of money was needed to enter in to business. My research shows that both are correct, and they present as different types of businesses. This would probably be more evident if we were able to walk into the establishments run by women of different social status in order to see the setting, the quality of goods that they were selling, and the people who patronized their businesses. Light (1984: 198) revealed that most small business owners since the 19th century were immigrants and Fraundorf (1979: 403) noted that immigrant women were more likely to work than American born women, but those two factors did not combine to see the result of more immigrant women owning businesses.

My study found that nearly half of the female business owners on South Meridian whose marital statuses are known were married (see Table 19 in Chapter 3). The

literature varies on this topic, with some saying that it is less likely for married women to work (Robinson 1995), and others, like Lucy Eldersveld Murphy (1991, 71), had a sample similar to mine in which around half of the women were married. In her study of milliners and dressmakers in Boston between 1860 and 1890, Wendy Gamber (1992: 66) found that women in these specific professions were most likely to be single with married women making up the lowest percentage. My own research shows this much differently, some of which could be attributed to the shift in time periods and the region. On South Meridian Street there were 26 women who were milliners, dressmakers, or both. A marital status was determined for 22 of those. Among this group, married women were the most common at 11, followed by single women at 8, and only 3 widows. Another factor at play when considering married women specifically is the legal ability to own property, which was not granted to married women in Indiana until 1879 (Murphy 1987: 158). That is the year before the start of this research, but both of the women who had businesses that were present in 1880 were married and had opened for business in 1878, when it was still not legal for them to own property. While I have not examined records to confirm whose name was legally associated with the business, Rachel Greenberg's business was listed under her husband's name in the 1878 directory, but Elizabeth Hagedon's was in her own (R. L. Polk 1878).

Most of the remaining findings line up well with other studies. For example, Murphy (1991: 71) found an average age of 36 which is quite close to the average age of about 38 years on South Meridian. Beyond comparisons of statistics, there was an opinion about outcomes and goals of similar research that is worth discussion. In her comments about articles on gender and business, Scott (1998: 245) asserts that this kind

of study may actually emphasize differences between men and women, particularly when the focus is solely on those industries that are female dominated. She is specifically commenting on articles by Kathy Peiss (1998) and Wendy Gamber (1992). Both Peiss and Gamber were resources that I consulted early on in my own research process. To some extent Scott is playing devil's advocate on the topic and I would counter that women were able to turn skills that they were already expected to have in to commercial opportunity. It is true that most women in business in the 19th and early 20th century did cater to other women (Gamber 1998; Murphy 1987, 1991), but it is also true that if 75% of women were in those businesses, the remaining 25% were doing things that were more unexpected. In addition, while dressmaking and millinery may have been seen as woman's work, finding and securing a location, sourcing materials, finding a customer base, marketing one's products, and managing accounts were not. Even if gendered industries are emphasized, the discussion is also revealing the less expected roles that the women were playing as businesswomen, not solely as women who were making dresses or hats.

Hidden Businesswomen

A shortcoming of this study is that it can only reveal the roles of women in business where there is official documentation. Just as Rachael Greenberg, mentioned above, was operating a business that was listed in her husband's name in 1878, many other women were likely doing the same for years afterwards. In addition, women were playing a role in the shops that were owned by their husbands and fathers. The news coverage of the Anna Wagner trial provides direct evidence that this was the case at least with the Koester business and presumably with other businesses as well. Anna recalled

that Mrs. Koesters helped out in the store before her death and Anna stepped in to fill some of that role after (*Indianapolis News* 1893e). Charles Koesters was also remembered to have mentioned that his daughter, Mary, would be old enough to take on responsibilities in the furniture shop in a few years (*Indianapolis News* 1893d). It will never be possible to have complete information on the historical role of women in business and it is important to acknowledge that statistics presented here and in other sources will inevitably be low estimations of reality. Having the title of “owner” is significant, but some women were doing all of the same work and only lacking the official acknowledgement. I was also unable to determine if there were women employed at any of the businesses on the street. In some cases, the directory lists the name or address of a workplace, but none of the South Meridian shops, male or female-owned, had a notable number of employees listed in the directories. Many employed women were listed simply by a title, such as clerk or stenographer, with no information on where they were employed. Some of the larger businesses likely had female employees, but those were not uncovered during this research.

Future Research

The Anna Wagner trial is a topic that, while peripheral to the focus on small business ownership, could illustrate more about the neighborhood. The small section devoted to the trial is only the beginning of the story. The Koester furniture store stayed in business for many years after the trial and Charles Koesters soon married again, to a woman with ties to the business community on South Meridian. Finding out more about the Koesters family and Anna in the years following the trial would not only be an interesting story but would also speak to the ties formed within the neighborhood and the

views on men and women in the area. The trial itself had a fairly unsatisfying end, with nobody ultimately being held accountable for the deaths of even the one family member who, without question, died due to ingestion of arsenic. There was also barely any suspicion cast upon Charles Koesters himself, even with strong public support for, and the acquittal of, Anna. Because of the large amount of coverage, I focused only on articles in the *Indianapolis News*, ignoring coverage in other local papers and national papers, where some of the lingering questions may have been answered.

A closer look at why immigrant women are underrepresented among businesswomen in the area is something that I would be interested in finding out more about. First, it would be beneficial to see if there was a discrepancy between the number of male and female immigrants in the area that could account for the lower numbers. Additionally, trying to find information on numbers of immigrant women who were employed outside of the home in the same area for the time period could add to the story. If the neighborhood demographics do not provide an explanation it would warrant investigation in other areas in Indianapolis or other parts of the country for the same time to see if the pattern is repeated. This was the most striking difference between male and female business owners other than of the uneven numbers in the obviously gendered occupations.

More attention could also be given to the men in the sample to understand how their involvement in business compares to that of the women. I did not, for example, gather information on their marital statuses and ages, as I did for the women. Along this line, all of the variables that were considered when looking for commonality among the females could be applied to the entire group and males on their own. In addition to

marital status, number of children is another statistic that was not gathered for men or women that could have been a factor in business ownership. I have this information gathered for most of the women in their individual files, but it was never added to the spreadsheet for analysis and I did not record any of this information for the males in the group.

Broadly, a temporal or spatial expansion of the covered information would add to the story and bolster conclusions that have been made. By focusing on the one area I was able to get a balanced picture of what was happening that could be followed through time which would have been harder to accomplish through focusing on a single year or through the selection of a more random sample covering the whole city, state, or region. Intensive, equivalent investigation of similarly dense retail districts in other areas or with different racial or ethnic populations could provide valuable comparisons. In general, this neighborhood is similar to many others at the same time period but repeating my methods elsewhere could conclusively confirm that what was happening on the near Southside was not unique.

Conclusion

Women of the past are sometimes underestimated, perhaps more by us in the present than they were by their own contemporaries. There is a need for research that refutes ideas that “separate spheres” and the “cult of womanhood” were somehow universal, rather than an oversimplification of the lives of some women that was imposed on an entire population. It cannot be disputed that women had fewer formal and public rights in the past, something that is still being overcome at the present, but women of the past were not all completely powerless and dependent on men. Then, as now, women

could be in positions of power and independence without a complete rejection of the expectations of society. This research not only gives credit to the women who were taking on responsibilities, it also reveals something about the attitudes of people that were not recorded at the time. The capabilities and aptitude for business of these women and others like them was recognized, as evidenced by the success of their businesses.

Appendix

Last Name	Business Type	Street Number(s)	Years
Abraham	Grocer, Fruits	858 902 916 959	1935-1937 1939-1954 1928-1934 1916-1927 1938
Ahlders-1	Grocer	428	1877-1890
Ahlders-2	Confectioner, News Dealer	942	1913-1919
Albersmeyer	Saloon	490	1884-1894
Alexander	Physician	826 830	1904-1910 1913-1922
Anderson-1	Notions	473	1895-1895
Anderson-2	Grocer	842	1914-1914
Aufderheide	Cigar Manufacturer/Dealer	488	1882-1882
Barnhart	Carriage and Wagon Manufacturer	423	1889-1889
Bartholomew	Boots and Shoes	465	1882-1883
Batchelor	Druggist	834	1907-1910
Baum	Amusements	856 858 860	1913 1914, 1916 1914
Baxter	Bicycle Dealer	930	1909-1909
Beaupre-1	Shoemaker	810	1899-1899
Beaupre-2	Bicycle Repairs	930 931	1910 1913

Beck	Meat Market	402	1877-1880
Bender	Barber, Shoemaker	936	1915-1916
Benefeil	Confectioner	476	1895-1895
Bernhard	Grocer, Saloon	492	1880-1883
Bernhart	Saloon	423 825	1897 1898
Bernstein	Furniture	856 858	1919 1918-1922
Beyer	Meat Market	467	1885-1885
Bezner-1	Hair Dresser	945	1915-1915
Bezner-2	Tailor	945	1915-1916
Biehl	Upholsterer	910	1907-1910
Blake	Dentist	834 ½	1910-1910
Blase	Confectioner-Wholesale/Manufacturing	933	1910-1910
Blieden	Notions, Clothing	808	1907
Blumburg	Notions, Clothing	808	1907
Booz	Oysters, Fish and Game	426	1892
Borinstein-1	Commission Merchant	842	1915
Borinstein-2	Furniture	921 925	1920-1927 1920 1924-1926
Borst	Druggist, Publisher, Books, Paints and Oils	440	1882-1888
Bossert	Bakery	112 412	1868-1870 1871-1885
Braun	Printer	808 821	1904-1905 1913-1924
Breil	Saloon	802	1909

Bremmer-1	Saloon	802	1907-1908
Bremmer-2	Saloon	825	1909
Brown	Saloon	474	1882
Bruning	Dressmaker	845	1914
Brussman	Barber, Billiard Hall	824 814 806	1916- 1917 1918 1919
Bryan	Commission Merchant, Fruits, Grocer, Produce	910	1913-1922
Budnik	Fruits	933	1914-1916
Burkhart	Florist/Nurserymen	492 950 930	1897 1898- 1899 1904- 1905
Burr	Shoemaker, Boots and Shoes	916 914	1915 1916
Cahill-1	Milliner	420 410	1887- 1892 1894- 1895
Cahill-2	Dressmaker	414 822	1897 1898
Cahill-3	Dressmaker	832	1898-1899
Calderon	Fruits, Grocer	916	1916-1917
Carpenter	Dentist	950 ½	1913-1920
Carvin	Second Hand Goods	833	1909
Chase	Teas and Coffees	830	1910
Clancy	Saloon	822	1909
Clark-1	Physician	463	1882
Clark-2	Horse Shoer	489	1891
Clarke	Notions	428	1892
Clary-1	Druggist	494	1892
Clary-2	Druggist	494	1892
Cofield	Dentist	950	1907-1909
Cohen	Billiard Hall	824	1919
Cook	Oysters, Fish, and Game	830	1904-1905

Copsey	Saloon	403	1888-1889
Costello	Saloon	490	1897
Crawley-Burton	Milliner	428 820 832 838	1897 1898- 1905 1907- 1910 1913- 1919
Cronstein	Grocer	810	1898
Crosby	Furniture Manufacturer/Dealer, Second Hand Goods	436/438 467 925	1881 1897 1898- 1899
Cryer	Boots and Shoes	950	1904
Danke	Saloon	474	1884- 1885
Davidson	Saloon	802	1910- 1918
Davis-1	Milliner	420	1894- 1895
Davis-2	Dressmaker	463	1897
Davis-3	Bicycle Repairs	828	1905
Davis-4	Milliner	833	1919
Delaney	Nurse	465 ½ 923	1897 1898- 1899
Denning	Saloon	474	1883
Dippel	Tailor	420 826	1897 1899
Doan	Confectioner	442	1887
Doenges	Grocer, Meat Market, Teas	465 416 436 840 859 850	1879 1880- 1881 1882- 1897 1898- 1910 1913 1914- 1942
Doerr	Druggist	494	1891
Duo Projector Co.	Moving Picture Supplies	823	1920
Duth-1	Milliner	410	1888- 1892

Duth-2	Milliner	410	1888-1892
Ealy	Confectioner, Boots and Shoes	460	1892-1894
Efroymsen-1	Dry Goods, Clothing	429 429, 431 421 462 922 918 922 918 922 920 918-922 950 918-922 918-926 918 918-926	1873-1874 1875 1876-1894 1895-1897 1898-1899 1904 1905-1907 1908 1909-1910 1913 1915 1916 1917 1918-1920 1921 1922-1924
Efroymsen-2	Second Hand Goods	475	1879-1884
Efroymsen-3	Dressmaker	475	1895
Efroymsen-4	Furniture	941-945 941 941-945 943 943-945 943 932-934 932 932-934 932 932-934 832-834 932 932-934	1917 1918 1919-1920 1921-1922 1924-1926 1927-1929 1930 1931-1932 1933-1935

			1936- 1937 1938 1939 1940- 1941 1942
Einstandig	Furniture	936	1918
Eckert	Bakery	412	1887- 1894
Eshelman	Boarding House	901	1913
Fahle	Pictures and Frames, Carpenter	442	1880
Farnsworth	Hardware and Cutlery	465	1880
Feldhaus	Boarding House	919	1913
Fiel	Carriage and Wagon Manufacturer/Dealer	423	1881
Finkelstein	Clothing	422	1897
Fishman-1	Installment Goods	933	1909
Fishman-2	Plumber, Steam and Gas Fitter	820	1910
Fishman-3	Furniture, House Furnishing Goods	921-925 921 937	1913- 1918 1919 1920- 1926
Fishman-4	Plumber	846	1915- 1916
Fleitz	Blacksmith, Horse Shoer	489 487	1874- 1887 1888
Flynn	Dry Goods, Clothing	950	1907- 1909
Fogas	Watches, Clocks, and Jewelry	806	1907
Forman-1	Dressmaker	940 ½	1905
Forman-2	Dry Goods		1919- 1920
Fort	Saloon	802	1907- 1908
Fouts	Flour and Feed	416	1890
Fox	Dental Laboratory, Dental Supplies	925 927 927-929 927	1908- 1909 1910- 1914 1915- 1916 1917
Foxlow	Boots and Shoes	494 472	1882- 1883

			1884
Friedman	Shoemaker	836	1920-1924
Furgason	Boarding House, Furnished Rooms	829	1910-1914
Gantner	Bakery	412	1887
Gardner	Meat Market	825 950	1913-1917 1918-1920
Garrettson	Physician, Surgeon	834 ½	1907-1910
Gause	Physician	438 461 463	1878 1879 1880-1881
Geentzler	Grocer, Oysters, Fish, and Game	814 830 808	1904 1907 1909-1910
Geis	Plumber	806	1904-1905
Glenn	Dressmaker	812	1904-1905
Glick	China, Glass, and Queensware, Grocer, Meat Market, Tailor, Tinware	828 832	1908-1910 1913-1922
Gold	Cleaner, Tailor	833	1910-1916
Goodwin	Boarding House	807	1913
Goussak	Dry Goods	942	1920-1924
Graf-1	Barber	805	1904-1905
Graf-2	Watches, Clocks, and Jewelry	806	1909-1910
Greenberg	Hair Goods	460 471 460 443	1878 1879- 1881 460 442
Greiner	Veterinary Surgeon	421 471	1883 1884-1890
Grogy	Watchmaker	805	1915

Guffin	Artist	473	1895
Haas	Medicine Manufacturer, Live Stock Remedies	937	1914- 1915
Hagedon	Milliner	410	1878- 1884
Halbleib	Saloon	474	1887- 1892
Haldy	Cigar Manufacturer	442	1889
Hamburger	Clothing	950	1905
Hamilton	Druggist	414	1885- 1892
Hand	Billiard Hall	842	1913
Hanson	Boots and Shoes	422 440	1887- 1889 1890- 1895
Hanna	Notions, China, Glass, and Queensware	452 906	1897 1898- 1899
Harbison	Moving Picture Supplies	823	1920
Harper	Confectioner	460	1885
Hart	Boots and Shoes	422 460 918 938	1891- 1915 1895- 1897 1898- 1899 1904- 1915
Hasely	Wallpaper and Window Shades	906	1905- 1920
Haug	Baker	421 821	1895- 1897 1898- 1899
Hefler	Restaurant	408	1888
Helms	Flour and Feed	465	1889
Herd-1	Dry Goods, Notions	494	1887- 1890
Herd-2	Dry Goods	494	1887- 1890
Herndon-1	Second Hand Goods	936	1920- 1921
Herndon-2	Second Hand Goods	936	1920- 1921
Higgins	Flour and Feed	416	1890

Hilpert	Baker/Confectioner	473 933 833 837	1897 1898 1899 1904- 1913
Himes	Grocer	932 932-934	1917- 1918 1919
Hixon	Signs	826	1920
Hoenig-1	Grocer, Saloon	458	1879- 1891
Hoenig-2	Dry Goods, Milliner	458 914	1894- 1897 1898- 1904
Hoerst	Dry Goods, Tailor	458 458	1884- 1885 1892
Hofmann	Saloon	470 928 934 932	1877- 1897 1898- 1899 1904- 1910 1913- 1915
Hogle	Flour and Feed	465	1889
Holloran	Saloon	490	1895
Hopfinger	Saloon	802	1905
Horn	Tailor	944	1907
Horuff	Shoes and Boots	938 950 938 930	1913 1914- 1915 1916- 1930 1931
Hughes-1	Physician	950 950 ½	1904 1905
Hughes-2	Physician	900 950 930	1908 1909- 1910 1915- 1920
Hyman	Furniture	941-945 941 941-945	1917 1918

		943 943-945 943 932-934 932 932-934 932 932-934 832-834 932 932-934	1919- 1920 1921- 1922 1924- 1926 1927- 1929 1930 1931- 1932 1933- 1935 1936- 1937 1938 1939 1940- 1941 1942
Indiana Cigarette Co.	Cigar Manufacturer	472	1891- 1892
Indianapolis Hat and Cap Co.	Hat Manufacturer	825 ½	1915
Indianapolis Repair Co.	Upholsterer	910	1907
Jackson	Grocer	No number 946 944 946 940-942 942 940 942 940 940-942 940	1904 1905- 1915 1916 1917- 1928 1929 1930- 1931 1932- 1936 1937- 1938 1939- 1945 1947 1949- 1952
Jaus	Meat Market	801	1907- 1909
Johnson	Upholsterer	467	1895

Junemann	Restaurant, Saloon, Soft Drinks	953	1915-1921
Kafoure-1	Grocer, Wholesale Dry Goods	830	1908
Kafoure-2	Men's Furnishings, Wholesale and Retail Notions	836	1913-1918
Kahn	Lock Manufacturer	825 ½ 825	1919 1920-1934
Karnow	Milliner	914 928	1908 1909
Kauffman	Pictures and Frames	473	1894
Kelleher	Physician	842	1904
Keller	Restaurant	408	1887
Kelley-1	Necktie Manufacturer	945 ½	1907
Kelley-2	Cigars and Tobacco	930	1908
Kempf	Harness and Saddle, Trunk and Harness Manufacturer	458 424	1874-1878 1879-1894
Kepple	Boarding House	462	1887
Kerner	Oysters, Fish and Game	442 410 830	1894-1895 1897 1898-1899
Keyler	Baker	403	1894
Kidwell	Grocer	814	1898-1899
Kline-1	Saloon	474	1878-1881
Kline-2	Clothing	442	1890
Knue	Physician	950 ½	1913
Koesters	Furniture	456 912	1887-1897 1898-1924
Krauss	Saloon	416	1894-1895
Kretsch	Cigar Manufacturer	472 470 472	1888 1889 1890
Kunz	Tailor	414 489 949	1894-1895 1897 1898-1899

Lafferty	Dentist	950 930 802 1/2 930 950 1/2	1910 1913- 1918 1919- 1920 1921- 1922 1924
Landwehr	Barber	403 805	1897 1898- 1899
Lapidus	Leather Goods	467	1894
Lauck	Hardware, Stoves and Tinware	496	1884- 1897
Lawrence	Nurse	465 ½ 923	1897 1898- 1899
Ledig	Boots and Shoes	465	1890
Leeb	Boots and Shoes	408	1895
Lemontree	Confectioner	424	1897
Lierberman	Confectioner	931	1917
Lipps	Dressmaker	496 496 ½	1895 1897
Lipschitz	Hat Manufacturer	825 ½	1915
Loganofsky	Shoemaker	944	1910- 1930
Long	House and Sign Painter	434	1895
Longmire	Billiard Hall	950	1913
Loper	Milliner	838	1920- 1924
Lyons	Druggist	414	1884
Madison	Boots and Shoes	422	1890
Mahalovitz	China, Glass, and Queensware, Confectioner, Grocer	416 822	1897 1898- 1905
Maholm	Saloon	403	1888- 1889
Manien-Reister	Dry Goods	444 848 846	1891- 1897 1898- 1901 1902- 1908
Markowitz	Plumber, Steam and Gas Fitter	820	1913- 1917
Marschall	Carriage Trimmer	423	1887

Marsh	Confectioner	402	1897
Marshall	Harness	442	1888
Matthews	Broom Manufacturer	467	1889
Mazo	Meat Market	937	1916
McBride-1	Horse Shoer	489	1890
McBride-2	Physician	840	1913- 1918
McClintock	Teas and Coffees	416	1889
McDowell-1	Decorator, Hardware, Wallpaper and Window Shades	933 935	1904- 1907 1908- 1959
McDowell-2	Hardware, Wallpaper and Window Shades	933 935	1904- 1907 1908- 1959
McDowell-3	Wallpaper and Window Shades	906	1904
McGlenn	Dressmaker	408 ½	1881
Mendel	Saloon	925	1905
Mentser	Saloon	932	1916
Meridian Theater	Amusements	858	1915
Merz-1	Meat Market	401 801	1887- 1897 1898- 1905
Merz-2	Meat Market	401 801	1887- 1897 1898- 1905
Messmer	Rattan Works	810	1904
Meyer-1	Saloon	400 802	1877- 1897 1898- 1904
Meyer-2	Grocer, Saloon	490 490-492 492 490	1877 1878- 1879 1880- 1881 1882
Michael	Dentist	422 ½	1895
Midway Theater	Amusements	838	1910
Milburn	Saloon	825	1910

Miller-1	Dressmaker	429 461	1882- 1895 1897
Miller-2	Grocer	492	1884- 1885
Minchin	Boots and Shoes	428	1891
Mitchell	Confectioner	824	1914- 1915
Mohler	Upholsterer	810	1904
Morgan	Confectioner	946	1899
Morrison	Watches, Clocks, and Jewelry	444	1885- 1889
Myers	Druggist	494	1895- 1897
National Merchants' Assn.	Teas and Coffees	830	1910
National Neckwear Co.	Necktie Manufacturer	945 ½	1907
Naughton	Men's Furnishings	950	1910
Nay	Photographer	921	1904- 1909
Neer	Confectioner, News Dealer	940	1904- 1910
Neller	Druggist	802 805	1919- 1933 1934
Nelson-1	Druggist, Grocer, Teas	480 414 414-416 416	1874- 1879 1880- 1881 1882- 1883 1884- 1888
Nelson-2	Music Teacher	461	1887- 1892
Newton	Dressmaker, Notions	460	1883
Nicoll	Printer	445	1895
Nieman	Wholesale Confectioner	933	1910
Nowar	Shoemaker	814	1915
Odean Theater	Amusements	838	1908- 1909
Ohleyer-1	Basket Manufacturer	456 452	1875- 1885 1895- 1897

Ohleyer-2	China, Glass, and Queensware	452	1891-1894
Oransky	Dry Goods	844 854	1910 1913-1922
Overstreet	Watches, Clocks, and Jewelry	431	1892
Patton	Dry Goods	494	1884-1885
Perry	Grocer	467	1892
Potts	Confectioner, Restaurant	408	1880-1885
Power	Saloon	403	1890
Pressly	Carpenter	485 943	1897 1904
Princess Theatre	Amusements	856 858-860 858	1913 1914 1916
Rathert	Barber	805	1907-1910
Reiffel	Meat Market	467	1876-1881
Reinhardt	Locksmith and Bell Hanger	473	1887-1892
Remley	Carriage and Wagon Manufacturer	423	1884
Renner	Blacksmith, Horse Shoer	123 423	1869 1870-1894
Reyer	Physician	459	1892
Rice	Boots and Shoes	828	1898-1899
Richey	Dressmaker	902	1920
Riedweg	Furniture Manufacturer/Dealer	465	1892
Roark	Saloon	822	1910
Robinowitz	Expressman	856	1920
Rodner	Hat Manufacturer	825 ½	1915
Rosenberg	Tailor	820	1907
Rotnitz	Shoemaker	814	1905
Ruemmele	Painter	423 423 ½	1880 1881
Sablosky	China, Glass, and Queensware	944	1905
Sachs	Saloon	825	1904-1907
Safrin	Dry Goods, Department Store	928	1915-1982
Sagal	Meat Market	822	1913

Sanders	Creamery	402	1895
Satinsky	Meat Market, Wholesale Meats	937	1918-1919
Schafer	Grocer, Meat Market	492 950 928	1887-1897 1898-1899 1899-1907
Schlueter	Grocer	471	1894
Schmidt-1	Baker/Confectioner	412 818 816 818 816-818 816 816-818	1895-1897 1898-1909 1910 1913-1917 1918-1920 1921 1922-1924
Schmidt-2	Meat Market	467	1882-1884
Schmitt-1	Cigar Manufacturer	418 420 429 404 808	1875-1876 1877-1878 1897-1881 1882-1897 1898-1899
Schmitt-2	Dressmaker	404 808	1883-1897 1898
Schneider	Saloon	474 934 983	1894-1897 1898 1899
Schoen	Saloon	416	1891-1892
Schoenfeld	Horse Shoer	489	1890
Schoettle	Dressmaker	820	1898

Schott	Meat Market	801	1910-1921
Schwartz	Confectioner	814	1920-1921
Scott-1	Baker/Confectioner	821	1904-1905
Scott-2	Barber	949	1918-1919
Seckelson	Second Hand Goods	431	1881
Seibert	Carriage Painter	423	1887
Sfasman	Barber	805	1913-1920
Shafer	Flour and Feed	492	1888-1892
Shapiro	Grocer	808	1913-1937
Shepherd	Watches, Clocks, and Jewelry	431 837	1894-1897 1898-1899
Sherman-1	Restaurant	408	1889
Sherman-2	Tailor	944	1908
Shriner	Blacksmith, Horse Shoer	489 423	1892-1894 1895
Shulman	China, Glass, and Queensware	914	1909
Siegel	Shoemaker	944 928	1909 1913
Silverman	Confectioner, Clothing, Men's Furnishings	806 814	1913-1918 1919
Simon-1	Oysters, Fish, and Game	442	1891-1892
Simon-2	Shoemaker	814	1913-1916
Simon-3	China, Furniture, Secondhand Goods	837 927 937	1915-1931 1932-1935 1936-1941
Simon-4	China, Furniture, Secondhand Goods	837 927 937	1915-1931 1932-1935

			1936-1941
Simpson-1	Carriage Painter	423	1895
Simpson-2	Physician	848	1915-1918
Sindlinger	Meat Market	467	1887
Sing	Laundry	810 812 810 914 912 914	1905- 1908 1909 1913- 1935 1936- 1940 1941 1942- 1952
Singer Sewing Machine Co.	Sewing Machines	833	1917
Skehan	Necktie Manufacturer	945 ½	1907
Sleight-1	Cigars and Tobacco, Confectioner	442 476	1885 1887-1891
Sleight-2	Cigars and Tobacco, Confectioner	442 476	1885 1887-1891
Solomon-1	Cigar Manufacturer/ Dealer	444	1881-1882
Solomon-2	Cleaner/Dryer, Clothing, Tailor	820	1918-1921
Sourbeer	Plumber, Steam and Gas Fitter	472	1889
South Side Furniture	Furniture	941-945 941 941-945 943 943-945 943 932-934 932 932-934 932 932-934 832-834 932 932-934	1917 1918 1919- 1920 1921- 1922 1924- 1926 1927- 1929 1930 1931- 1932 1933- 1935

			1936- 1937 1938 1939 1940- 1941 1942
Spector	Installment Goods	933	1909
Spillman	Harness Manufacturer	927 943	1904- 1905 1907- 1916
Spitznagel	Barber	454	1872- 1897
Squires	Boots and Shoes	422	1890
Steckle	Shoemaker	933 910 925	1899 1904- 1905 1907- 1910
Stein-1	Boots and Shoes	106 406 410 444 422	1869 1870- 1871 1872- 1876 1877- 1880 1881- 1885
Stein-2	Cleaner/Dryer, Tailor	846 806	1917- 1918 1920- 1922
Steinberg	Cigar Manufacturer	472	1891- 1892
Stewart	Grocer	836-838	1904- 1905
Stott	Milliner	410	1885- 1887
Strawmyer	Harness and Saddle	471 929	1897 1898- 1899
Sussman	Milliner	914	1910
Sweigert	Confectioner	465	1888
Taggart	Baker/Confectioner	844	1904- 1909

Thalls	Amusements	858	1915
Thayer	Confectioner	465	1888
Thomas	Painter	464	1888
Thompson	Confectioner	428	1894-1895
Thomson	Burial Vaults	907	1920
Tierney	Music Teacher	919	1899
Timmonds	Boarding House	422 ½	1892
Traut	Barber	431 408 944 910 936 947 949	1885- 1889 1890- 1894 1898 1899 1904- 1914 1915 1916- 1917
Trinz	Coal, Wood, and Coke	834	1913-1914
Tullis	Confectioner, News Dealer	460 476	1887- 1891 1892- 1894
Van Slyke	Milliner	414	1897
Vollrath-1	Meat Market	467	1888-1890
Vollrath-2	Saloon	9494 953	1904- 1910 1913- 1915
Wagener	Saloon	403	1891-1892
Wagschal	Suspender Manufacturer	945	1907-1914
Walk	Meat Market	402	1881
Walter	Tailor	833	1904-1908
Weaver	Saloon	825	1908
Wechsler	Meat Market	402	1882-1891
Weiland	Grocer	495	1880-1897
Weinberger	Watches, Clocks, and Jewelry	444	1890
Weiner	Shoemaker	837	1914

Welter	Barber	408	1891
Wheat	Watches, Clocks, and Jewelry	806	1908
White	Druggist	494	1894
Wilson-1	Milliner	442	1881- 1882
Wilson-2	Dressmaker, Milliner	420	1881- 1885
Wilson-3	Cigar Manufacturer	472	1891- 1892
Winchester	Confectioner, News Dealer	476 936	1897 1898- 1899
Witt	Grocer	928	1908
Woerner	Boots and Shoes	472 494	1877 1878- 1881
Wolfe	Furniture	842	1916- 1922
Wolmer	Baker/Confectioner	937	1913
Wolsiffer	Saloon	825	1899
Wren	Blacksmith	489	1882
Wurgler	Plumber, Steam, and Gas Fitter	833 828	1898 1904- 1907
Wylie	Physician	488	1895
Yavowitz	China, Glass, and Queensware	944	1904
Zahl	Blacksmith	489	1889
Zobbe	Grocer, Meat Market	836 844	1907- 1910 1913- 1917
Zumwalt	Saloon	822	1907- 1908

Last Name	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Abraham	Turkey	Turkey	Turkey
Ahlders-1	Germany	Germany	Germany
Ahlders-2	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Albersmeyer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Alexander	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Anderson-1	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Anderson-2	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Aufderheide	Germany	Germany	Germany

Barnhart	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Bartholomew	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Batchelor	Indiana	Pennsylvania	Scotland
Baum	Indiana	Indiana	Ohio
Baxter	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Beaupre-1	Ohio	Canada	Indiana
Beaupre-2	Ohio	Canada	Canada
Beck	Germany	Germany	Germany
Bender	Illinois	Germany	Illinois
Benefeil	Indiana	Indiana	Kentucky
Bernhard	Germany	Germany	Germany
Bernhart	Germany	Germany	Germany
Bernstein	Indiana	Russia	Russia
Beyer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Bezner-1	Russia	Russia	Russia
Bezner-2	Russia	Russia	Russia
Biehl	Ohio	Germany	Germany
Blake	Indiana	Indiana	Pennsylvania
Blase	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Blieden	Russia	Russia	Russia
Blumburg	Russia	Russia	Russia
Booz	Maryland	England	Maryland
Borinstein-1	Indiana	Russia	Russia
Borinstein-2	Indiana	Russia	Russia
Borst	Germany	Germany	Germany
Bossert	Germany	Germany	Germany
Braun	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Breil	Germany	Germany	Germany
Bremmer-1	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Bremmer-2	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Brown	Ohio	Maryland	Ohio
Bruning	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Brussman	Russia	Russia	Russia
Bryan	Russia	Russia	Russia
Budnik	Russia	Russia	Russia
Burkhart	Indiana	Kentucky	Ohio
Burr	Russia	Russia	Russia
Cahill-1	Indiana	Kentucky	Kentucky
Cahill-2	Indiana	Kentucky	Ohio
Cahill-3	Indiana	Indiana	New York
Calderon	Italy	Italy	Italy
Carpenter	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Carvin	Indiana	Indiana	Ohio
Chase	Missouri	Ohio	Unknown
Clancy	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

Clark-1	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
Clark-2	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Clarke	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Clary-1	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Clary-2	Indiana	Tennessee	Tennessee
Cofield	Indiana	Kentucky	Ohio
Cohen	Russia	Russia	Russia
Cook	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Copsey	Indiana	Ohio	Indiana
Costello	Ohio	Ireland	Ireland
Crawley Burton	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Cronstein	Poland	Poland	Poland
Crosby	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Cryer	England	England	England
Danke	Germany	Germany	Germany
Davidson	Austria	Austria	Austria
Davis-1	Indiana	Kentucky	Kentucky
Davis-2	Indiana	Pennsylvania	Ohio
Davis-3	Kentucky	England	Indiana
Davis-4	Indiana	Ohio	Indiana
Delaney	New York	Ireland	France
Denning	Ohio	Pennsylvania	Alabama
Dippel	Indiana	Canada	Ohio
Doan	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Doenges	Germany	Germany	Germany
Doerr	Kentucky	Germany	Germany
Duo Projector Co.	See Harbison	-	-
Duth-1	Iowa	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Duth-2	Iowa	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Ealy	Indiana	Pennsylvania	Tennessee
Efroymson-1	Poland	Poland	Poland
Efroymson-2	Russia	Russia	Russia
Efroymson-3	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Efroymson-4	Indiana	U. S. Unknown State	Germany
Einstandig	Austria	Austria	Austria
Eckert	Germany	Germany	Germany
Eshelman	Indiana	New York	Virginia
Fahle	Germany	Germany	Germany
Farnsworth	Ohio	New York	Ohio
Feldhaus	Missouri	Indiana	Indiana
Fiel	Germany	Germany	Germany
Finkelstein	Russia	Russia	Russia
Fishman-1	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Fishman-2	Russia	Russia	Russia

Fishman-3	Russia	Russia	Russia
Fishman-4	Russia	Russia	Russia
Fleitz	Germany	Germany	Germany
Flynn	Canada	Ireland	Ireland
Fogas	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Forman-1	Illinois	England	England
Forman-2	Russia	Russia	Russia
Fort	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Fouts	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Fox	Virginia	Virginia	Virginia
Foxlow	Germany	Germany	Germany
Friedman	Russia	Russia	Russia
Furgason	Indiana	Ohio	Kentucky
Gantner	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Gardner	Ohio	Germany	Germany
Garrettson	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Gause	Indiana	Pennsylvania	Ohio
Geentzler	Hungary	Hungary	Hungary
Geis	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Glenn	Indiana	Ireland	Ireland
Glick	Austria	Austria	Austria
Gold	Austria	Austria	Austria
Goodwin	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Goussak	France	France	France
Graf-1	Germany	Germany	Germany
Graf-2	Germany	Germany	Germany
Greenberg	Germany	Germany	Germany
Greiner	France	France	France
Groggy	Indiana	Indiana	Ohio
Guffin	Indiana	Kentucky	Ohio
Haas	Germany	Germany	Germany
Hagedon	Indiana	England	Kentucky
Halbleib	Germany	Germany	Germany
Haldy	Germany	Germany	Germany
Hamburger	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Hamilton	Indiana	New York	Ohio
Hand	Indiana	U. S. Unknown State	Iowa
Hanson	Denmark	Denmark	Denmark
Hanna	New York	England	Portugal
Harbison	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Harper	Indiana	Maryland	Virginia
Hart	Indiana	Germany	Ireland
Hasely	Indiana	England	England
Haug	Germany	Germany	Germany
Hefler	Indiana	U. S. Unknown State	U. S. Unknown State

Helms	Indiana	Virginia	Virginia
Herd-1	Indiana	England	England
Herd-2	England	England	England
Herndon-1	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Herndon-2	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Higgins	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Hilpert	Germany	Germany	Germany
Himes	Turkey	Turkey	Turkey
Hixon	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Hoening-1	Germany	Germany	Germany
Hoening-2	Indiana	Germany	Indiana
Hoerst	Germany	Germany	Germany
Hofmann	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Hogle	Ohio	New York	Maryland
Holloran	Indiana	Ireland	Ireland
Hopfinger	Germany	Germany	Germany
Horn	Russia	Russia	Russia
Horuff	Indiana	Germany	Kentucky
Hughes-1	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Hughes-2	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Hyman	Kentucky	Indiana	Ohio
Indiana Cigarette Co.	See Steinberg and Wilson	-	-
Indianapolis Hat and Cap Co.	See Rodner and Lipschitz	-	-
Indianapolis Repair Co.	See Biehl	-	-
Jackson	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
Jaus	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Johnson	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Junemann	Russia	Russia	Russia
Kafoure-1	Syria	Syria	Syria
Kafoure-2	Syria	Syria	Syria
Kahn	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Karnow	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Kauffman	Germany	Germany	Germany
Kelleher	Ohio	West Virginia	Ohio
Keller	Germany	Germany	Germany
Kelley-1	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Kelley-2	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Kempf	Germany	Germany	Germany
Kepple	Pennsylvania	Scotland	Pennsylvania
Kerner	France	France	France
Keyler	Germany	Germany	Germany
Kidwell	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana

Kline-1	Germany	Germany	Germany
Kline-2	New York	New York	New York
Knue	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Koesters	Indiana	Germany	Ohio
Krauss	Hungary	Hungary	Hungary
Kretsch	Germany	Germany	Germany
Kunz	Ohio	Germany	Germany
Lafferty	Pennsylvania	Ireland	Pennsylvania
Landwehr	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Lapidus	Russia	Russia	Russia
Lauck	Kentucky	Germany	Germany
Lawrence	Pennsylvania	Germany	Germany
Ledig	Germany	Unknown	Unknown
Leeb	Russia	Russia	Russia
Lemontree	Poland	Poland	Poland
Lierberman	Poland	Poland	Poland
Lipps	Indiana	Ohio	Germany
Lipschitz	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Loganofsky	Russia	Russia	Russia
Long	Indiana	Ireland	Ireland
Longmire	Indiana	Indiana	North Carolina
Loper	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Lyons	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Madison	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Mahalovitz	Hungary	Hungary	Hungary
Maholm	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Manien-Reister	Indiana	Ireland	Ireland
Markowitz	Russia	Russia	Russia
Marschall	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Marsh	Ohio	Ireland	England
Marshall	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Matthews	Germany	Germany	Germany
Mazo	Russia	Russia	Russia
McBride-1	Indiana	Virginia	North Carolina
McBride-2	Indiana	U. S. Unknown State	U. S. Unknown State
McClintock	Indiana	Ireland	Ireland
McDowell-1	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
McDowell-2	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
McDowell-3	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
McGlenn	Indiana	Ireland	Ireland
Mendel	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mentser	Romania	Romania	Romania
Meridian Theater	See Thalls	-	-

Merz-1	Germany	Germany	Germany
Merz-2	Germany	Germany	Germany
Messmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Meyer-1	Germany	Germany	Germany
Meyer-2	Germany	Germany	Germany
Michael	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Midway Theater	-	-	-
Milburn	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Miller-1	Tennessee	Unknown	Unknown
Miller-2	Germany	Germany	Germany
Minchin	Canada	Bermuda	Canada
Mitchell	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mohler	Indiana	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Morgan	Indiana	Kentucky	Kentucky
Morrison	Indiana	France	France
Myers	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
National Merchants' Assn.	See Chase	-	-
National Neckwear Co.	See Kelley and Skehan	-	-
Naughton	Indiana	Massachusetts	Indiana
Nay	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Neer	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Neller	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Nelson-1	Indiana	Kentucky	Kentucky
Nelson-2	Iowa	Ohio	Ohio
Newton	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Nicoll	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Nieman	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Nowar	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Odean Theater	-	-	-
Ohleyer-1	Germany	Germany	Germany
Ohleyer-2	Germany	Germany	Germany
Oransky	Russia	Russia	Russia
Overstreet	Indiana	Kentucky	Indiana
Patton	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
Perry	Pennsylvania	Germany	Germany
Potts	Indiana	England	England
Power	New York	New York	New York
Pressly	U. S. Unknown State	U. S. Unknown State	U. S. Unknown State
Princess Theatre	See Baum	-	-
Rathert	Germany	Germany	Germany
Reiffel	Germany	Germany	Germany

Reinhardt	Germany	Germany	Germany
Remley	Germany	Germany	Germany
Renner	Germany	Germany	Germany
Reyer	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Rice	Indiana	Ohio	Ohio
Richey	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
Riedweg	Germany	Germany	Germany
Roark	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Robinowitz	Romania	Russia	Russia
Rodner	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
Rosenberg	Russia	Russia	Russia
Rotnitz	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Ruemmele	Germany	Germany	Germany
Sablosky	Russia	Russia	Russia
Sachs	New York	New York	New York
Safrin	Russia	Russia	Russia
Sagal	Pennsylvania	Germany	Pennsylvania
Sanders	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Satinsky	Russia	Russia	Russia
Schafer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Schlueter	Canada	Germany	Germany
Schimdt-1	Russia	Russia	Russia
Schmidt-2	Germany	Germany	Germany
Schmitt-1	Germany	Germany	Germany
Schmitt-2	Germany	Germany	Germany
Schneider	Germany	Germany	Germany
Schoen	Hungary	Hungary	Hungary
Schoenfeld	Germany	Germany	Germany
Schoettle	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Schott	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Schwartz	Russia	Russia	Russia
Scott-1	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Scott-2	Indiana	Illinois	Illinois
Seckelson	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Seibert	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Sfasman	Russia	Russia	Russia
Shafer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Shapiro	Russia	Russia	Russia
Shepherd	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Sherman-1	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Sherman-2	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Shriner	Kentucky	New York	Alabama
Shulman	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Siegel	Russia	Russia	Russia
Silverman	Russia	Russia	Russia

Simon-1	France	France	France
Simon-2	Poland	Poland	Poland
Simon-3	Indiana	Germany	Indiana
Simon-4	England	Poland	Poland
Simpson-1	Indiana	Indiana	Kentucky
Simpson-2	Indiana	Kentucky	Indiana
Sindlinger	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Sing	China	China	China
Singer Sewing Machine Co.	-	-	-
Skehan	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Sleight-1	England	England	England
Sleight-2	England	England	England
Solomon-1	Poland	Poland	Poland
Solomon-2	Russia	Russia	Russia
Sourbeer	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
South Side Furniture	See Hyman and Efroymson	-	-
Spector	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Spillman	Indiana	Kentucky	Pennsylvania
Spitznagel	Germany	Germany	Germany
Squires	Indiana	Virginia	Virginia
Steckle	France	France	France
Stein-1	Germany	Germany	Germany
Stein-2	Russia	Russia	Russia
Steinberg	Poland	Poland	Poland
Stewart	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Stott	Pennsylvania	England	Maryland
Strawmyer	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Sussman	New York	Germany	Germany
Sweigert	Pennsylvania	Germany	Germany
Taggart	England	England	England
Thalls	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Thayer	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Maine
Thomas	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee
Thompson	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Thomson	Indiana	Scotland	Indiana
Tierney	Indiana	Ireland	Ireland
Timmonds	Illinois	Ohio	Indiana
Traut	Ohio	Pennsylvania	Germany
Trinz	New York	Austria	Austria
Tullis	Ohio	New Jersey	New Jersey
Van Slyke	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Vollrath-1	Germany	Germany	Germany
Vollrath-2	Indiana	Germany	Germany

Wagener	Germany	Germany	Germany
Wagschal	Austria	Austria	Austria
Walk	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Walter	Germany	Germany	Germany
Weaver	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Wechsler	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Weiland	Germany	Germany	Germany
Weinberger	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Weiner	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Welter	Ohio	Georgia	Georgia
Wheat	Indiana	Virginia	Indiana
White	Indiana	Indiana	Kentucky
Wilson-1	Indiana	Ireland	Ireland
Wilson-2	Indiana	Virginia	Virginia
Wilson-3	Indiana	Indiana	Maryland
Winchester	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Witt	Germany	Germany	Germany
Woerner	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Wolfe	Indiana	U. S. Unknown State	U. S. Unknown State
Wolmer	Holland	Holland	Holland
Wolsiffer	Indiana	Indiana	Germany
Wren	Iowa	Kentucky	Indiana
Wurgler	Indiana	Switzerland	Germany
Wylie	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Yavowitz	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Zahl	Germany	Germany	Germany
Zobbe	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Zumwalt	Indiana	Pennsylvania	Indiana

Last Name	First Name	Marital Status	Age	Lived on S. Meridian
Bezner-2	Lena	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Bruning	Minnie	Unknown	Unknown	Yes
Cahill	Anna-3	Single	22	Yes
Cahill	Mary-2	Unknown	38	Yes
Cahill	Sarah-1	Married	34	Yes
Clarke	Jennie	Married	42	No
Crawley-Burton	Lillian	Married	30	No
Davis-4	Emma	Married	59	Yes
Davis-2	Margaret	Unknown	28	Yes
Davis-1	Mary	Married	42	Yes
Delaney	Theresa	Single	50	Yes
Duth-2	Carrie	Single	27	Yes
Duth-1	Mary	Single	29	Yes
Efroymsen-3	Rae	Single	21	Yes

Eshelman	Lowancha	Widowed	64	Yes
Feldhaus	Anna	Married	36	Yes
Forman-1	Clara	Married	50	Yes
Forman-2	Martha	Married	34	Yes
Furgason	Elizabeth	Widowed	66	Yes
Glenn	Catherine	Married	43	Yes
Goodwin	Cloe	Unknown	34	Yes
Greenberg	Rachael	Married	36	Yes
Guffin	Lotta	Divorced	51	Yes
Hagedon	Elizabeth	Married	25	Yes
Hanna	Anna	Widowed	29	Yes
Herd-1	Mary	Single	20	Yes
Herndon-1	Lillian	Married	38	Yes
Hoenig-2	Margaretha	Widowed	34	Yes
Karnow	Bessie	Married	25	Yes
Kelleher	Elsie	Unknown	38	Yes
Keller	Elizabeth	Widowed	54	Yes
Kepple	Anna	Widowed	46	Yes
Krauss	Julia	Married	35	Yes
Lawrence	Mary	Widowed	60	Yes
Lipps	Anna	Single	25	yes
Loper	Katherine	Married	45	Yes
Manien-Reister	Ella	Married	30	Yes
Marsh	Mary	Widowed	62	No
McDowell-1	Frances	Widowed	32	No
McGlenn	Maggie	Single	18	Yes
Merz-1	Frederica	Widowed	57	Yes
Miller-1	Martha	Widowed	46	Yes
Morgan	Belle	Unknown	33	Yes
Nelson-2	Flora	Married	33	Yes
Newton	Josie	Unknown	Unknown	Yes
Perry	Annie	Widowed	36	Yes
Rice	Retta	Married	38	No
Richey	Florence	Married	39	Yes
Schmitt-2	Mary	Married	36	Yes
Schoettle	Carrie	Single	22	No
Simon-3	Esther	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Sleight-1	Jane	Married	55	Yes
Sussman	Mamie	Widowed	29	Unknown
Tierney	Elizabeth	Single	32	Yes
Timmonds	Della	Single	32	Yes
Van Slyke	Mary	Single	27	No
Wilson-2	Mary	Married	39	Yes

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Curriculum Vitae

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Education

Master of Arts, Anthropology 2019	Indiana University at IUPUI Indianapolis, Indiana
Bachelor of Arts, Anthropology 2015	Wright State University Dayton, Ohio
Certificate, Practical Nursing 2013	Apollo Career Center Lima, Ohio
Bachelor of Arts, Communication 2004	University of Cincinnati Cincinnati, Ohio
Associate of Arts 2001	Cuyahoga Community College Parma, Ohio

Archaeological Experience

Excavations at the Moorehead Circle Supervisor Summer 2015, Summer 2016	Fort Ancient State Memorial Oregonia, Ohio
Completion of OAI Site Forms Volunteer Fall 2014-Spring 2015	Wright State University Dayton, Ohio
Teton Reservoir Stone Circles Volunteer Summer 2014, Summer 2016	Bureau of Land Management Rawlins, Wyoming
Field School in Archaeology Student Spring 2014	Wright State University, Fort Ancient Dayton, Ohio

Achievements

University Fellowship	IUPUI
Treasurer, Anthropology Society	Wright State University
Gary M. McDaniels Memorial Scholarship	Wright State University
First in class	Apollo Career Center
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Conference Presentation

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